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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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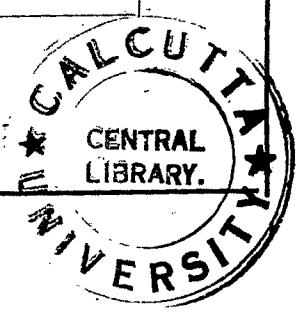

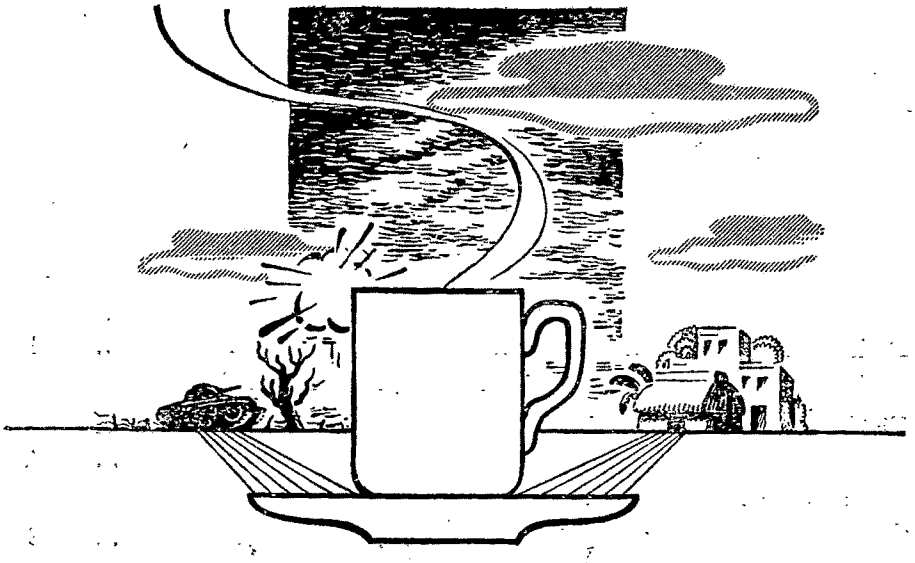

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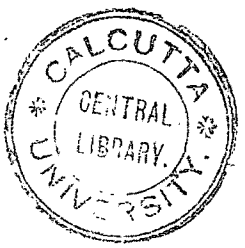

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DARK WORLD

Sir Hari Singh Gour, Kt.

In my article on "Science's Survey of the Universe" I have explained in general terms the latest discoveries of Science regarding the construction, composition, origin and end of the universe, its present trend and future uncertainties. In that article I have pointed out that the one thing that Science has discovered about the universe is its utterly chaotic condition and it is at the present moment precipitating towards its final destruction. There is no evidence that the universe was created by an Almighty Creator, or that such Creator guides its course. The evidence is to the contrary. But Science leaves a loophole by being unable to say who created the universe and if not created, how it came into existence and what will be the end of it after its dissolution towards which it is moving at an accelerated pace.

So far as the earth is concerned, Science has proved, and if not proved, almost proved, that planets are not of the natural form of the universe but arise from purely accidental causes, such as the concussion of two stars which emit sparks into the distance which in course of time cool down and form planets like our Mother Earth. This earth has been so formed and for millions of years has remained uninhabited because of its fluid condition—in fact it was in a vaporous form and in course of time liquefied and then solidified on the surface, the interior being still in a liquid state. This outer crust of the earth, after it became solidified, accidentally created life which Science suggests might have been due to certain qualities of the rays of the sun since extinct. In other words, Science has not been able to explain the origin of life in this planet beyond making a hypothetical guess. It is, however, able to predicate that in the vast constellation of the universe the development of a planet is a remote accident and the germination of life therein even more remote, in fact so remote as to be unique. Astronomers, physicists, geologists and other allied scientists have all asserted that in the vast region of the universe man is an unique creation, the like of which is not to be found anywhere in the planetary or stellar regions, which collectively occupy the same space in the vast universe as three bees in the whole continent of Europe. In other words, the universe is empty to the extent that Europe would be empty but for the buzzing of the three bees and this is the sum total of the multitudinous stellar luminaries which we see at night from the earth. Science has also been unable to explain how man came to be created beyond the explanation given by Charles Darwin in

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his "Origin of Species" about eighty years ago, *i.e.*, that man has developed out of the apean stock of animals by a process of evolution, development and natural selection. But we must take the existence of man as a fact and now consider his history in this world as we see it.

Ten thousand years ago man took the special shape which he now possesses. His life was nomadic and he lived by the rule of tooth and claw in the midst of the forest from where he began to cluster into small groups and formed flocks which after ages of experience developed into tribal groups. It is for this reason that biologists class man as belonging to the type of gregarious animal, that is to say animals that live collectively in a group as distinct from those that eschew gregarious life. The tiger and leopard are examples of the latter type of animals, while man, monkeys, horses, dogs, bullocks belong to the gregarious variety. After thousands of years of nomadic arboreal life man began to dig caves in which he sheltered himself and his children against the inclemency of weather such as the birds do by building nets against the monsoon and the severity of winter. There is no appropriate reason in favour of fundamentalism and no one seriously believes in the Gospel evolution of human creation, which may, at best, be treated as allegorical and not real. It has taken thousands of years to develop self-consciousness in man and with the development of self-consciousness has arisen the thought : Why he was created and what is his destination. The persistence of the conservative instinct for self-preservation is not only shared by man but shared by all sentient life, whether animal or vegetable. That self-preservation in man has begotten an undue love of life and fear of death. He began to reason with himself as to why he should die and what would become of him after he died and seeing around him the galaxy of stars he began to fancy that there must be in those shining, glittering pendula of the universe some better places where he would go after death and where he would enjoy eternal life. It was merely a fancy, a mere dream, a mere ideology, born of the animal instinct of self-preservation, but it was taken advantage of by some of his own fellowmen who began to pretend to know what he himself did not know and began to dream dreams of a paradise and hell and the doctrine of reward and punishment, and a short but simple theological code was set out to control human actions by making him live more peacefully with his fellowmen. This is the origin of priestcraft in all countries and of all religions. Science has proved that there is no such thing as heaven and hell and that the decalogue is a mere human invention for the peaceful conduct of life. In the early ages man began to defy the glaring spots of light giving rise to animistic religion and animistic philosophy which endowed the common elements with divine spirit to do things that they were incapable of doing. Such is the history of our Vedic Gods where the Sun and the Moon, fire and water, wind and rain are so idealised and idolised. In course of time these fleeting conventions of the human mind were crystallised and examined and the excrescence removed and human life sought to be rationalised as was with the advent of the most ancient and the most noble of all religions, the religion of Gautama Buddha, who is said to have flourished in the sixth century B.C. He had found the country divided by spiritual aud temporal priests, the one fighting for spiritual supremacy, the other for temporal power. The people at large were a prey to these two confluent forces. There was no peace anywhere and Buddha therefore found and rightly said that life was an evil and it had to be purged. The fact is that life is no more an evil than any sentient life. It is made evil by our own actions. Animals live and die and kill one another for food. Such is their life. As an old doggerel puts it :—

> Little flies have lesser ones on their backs to bite 'em
> And lesser ones have other ones and so on ad infinitum.

It is a plain fact that there is no evil or good inherent in this process of life, but man makes it worse by the display of his evil propensities by scheming and planning and plotting, to kill and destroy and slay his fellowmen. This was the new development of evil which Buddha wanted to check and it must be stated to his glory that he did check it and so long as Buddhism was the national religion of our country, which it was for a period of 1200 years, say roughly from 600 B. C. to 748 A.D., when on the death of King Harsa, the country was again reduced to warring tribes and mutually-destructive races and the advent of Islam and other foreign forces and powers put an end to India's independence which she had enjoyed under the Buddhist regime. The advent of Islam buried the Vedic Gods with the Vedic hymns and brought into existence the reign of Puranas which were written for what is called "Kaliyug," *i.e.*, the present age. These Puranas invented new Gods and Godesses, adopted and adapted ingenuous ideas and in their higher hegemony assimilated the grand conception of Buddhistic thought which we find illuminating the pages of Bhagwad Gita where good work without reward is counselled and the result of which, according to Buddha, was Nirvana, which in his conception meant the blowing out of the canker worm of desire and the craving for self. In the Semitic line the Rabbis had held the torch of Judaism, as regrouping of the priestcraft under the heading of Brahmanism had begun to hold forthwith the torch of Vedantism and later Puranic multitudinous gods. About 2000 years ago a great social reformer and patriotic worker arose in Palestine from low parentage and abject poverty. His name was Jesus Christ. As he grew up, he employed the teachings of Buddhism which had reached the whole of Palestine, Greece, Egypt and the Roman Empire under the guise of Gnosticism, which is the translation of Buddhism. This Gnosticism had taught the principle of Buddhism against those of the Semitic creed and they had influenced the intelligentsia of the hellenic dominated world both of modern Asia and Europe. Jesus Christ was said to have disappeared for study for three years and it is suggested that he came to India following in the wake of Alexander The Great, but there is no reliable evidence of it. Nor is it important. What is important is that he did make study during this period of what he preached during his three years of Messiahood. In my work on the "Spirit of Buddism" I have set out in parallel columns Gautama Buddha's sermon at Sarnath and Jesus Christ's sermon on the Mount and pointed out that one was a paraphrase of the other. It is now admitted as a historical fact just as much as the architectural resemblances between the Buddhic cathedrals and the Roman and the Catholic churches with ritual conventions, penances and other rites, which were bodily taken from Buddhism, adopted and embalmed in the Semitic background. Apart from the backgrounds of Buddhism and Christianity, the two religions are practically identical and it is hoped that it will be so realised in the near future for the benefit of mankind. It is the clerical hierarchy of the two religions that is likely to stand in the way of the unity of these two great faiths. But once public opinion is aroused, as I hope it would be the surest and safest message of peace to the world and a message which the world can safely follow because it is writ large in the golden pages of the history of India.

It is idle to think of religion as divinely inspired and that the so-called Messiahs have composed their messages as emanating from God. The short logical and conclusive answer to these pretensions of the religious dogma will be found in the fact that if God were interested in the government of this earth he would have immediately appeared and denounced false prophets and impostors as rogues and vagabonds and explained to the people his authentic desire. That He has not done so is a conclusive proof of the non-existence of a personal or impersonal God interested in the conduct of man. We must, therefore, clarify our mind by dismissing from it all cant and superstition about traditional belief in

the hierarchy of the world through all priestcraft and we must dismiss from our minds all ideas of heaven and hell, of virtue and vice, of reward and punishment, as fictitious inventions of the priestcraft following the analogy of the secular power installing by force their powers on their subjects. In India the educated mind badly needs the purging of these loathsome ideas because it is the traditional veneration of our ancestors which transmit and vest with the halo of sanctity the banalities of our religion, which the immature mind of man is unable to dismiss and discard. But the young student for his academic refinement must purge his mind of this cant and hypocrisy. He must bring everything to judgment by the light of his reason and his reason should be thrown into the crucible of dry logic and stern ratiocination. It would not only clear the cobwebs of the mind of old-worn fallacies and false notions but present to him a clean slate for writing down the rules of reason and fairplay.

THE NATURE OF THE LAW IN MUGHAL INDIA AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

PROF. S. P. SANGAR, M.A. (HONS.)
Doaba College, Jullundur.

MUSLIM LAW

THERE are four recognised schools of jurisprudence in Islam and the orthodox have adopted in various times and places one or the other of these. They display some divergences, of course, but they are of a secondary nature and are not in the principles of the law. As we shall see the main sources on which all schools have based themselves are the same.

The first attempt at codification of the law was made by Malik ibn Anas, who died in 795. Malik's principal source is the quran. The second in importance is the Sunna of Muhammad and his companions. Malik occasionally adds something from the customs and laws of Medina as well. He admitted the traditions as a basis but these could be modified if found to be in opposition to the public good. He was also in favour of the use of consensus (*ijma*) of the doctors of Medina on a given point. So, he maintained tradition but accepted personal interpretation (*ray*) in so far as it was necessary for the public good.

Abu Hanifa is the most eminent representative of another school. He died in 767. His system is not so different from that of Malik as is commonly believed, except that the latter is more moderate in the use of " ray " (personal opinion). The main difference between the two systems was with regard to consensus. But the Malikite consensus was used only as an incidental principle.

Shafi'i, on the other hand, who died in 820 and was the leader of a new school of jurisprudence, established consensus as a general principle. His insistence on the general 'ijma' of doctors of law delegated infallibility to the community. Henceforward, doctors of law in Islam could do as they wished

provided there was unanimous agreement among them. According to Shafi'i, the authoritative basis of Islamic jurisprudence are the Quran, the " Sunna, " " Ijma ", and " Qiyas ". The Shafi'ite doctrine in spite of, or because of, its eclecticism, did not gain a general acceptance.

Ibn Hanbal, who died in 855, was the founder of the Hanbalite school. According to him, law could only be taken from traditional sources, and he admitted " ray " in case of absolute necessity.

So, the main sources of the law, the Quran and the Sunna, are recognised by all schools. The only divergence is with regard to the use of *ray* and *ijma*.

It was not possible for the Mughals to govern the country in strict observance of the law as described in the Shara'. The Muslim law as detailed in the law books had grown to maturity outside India. No monarch could be blind to the peculiar features of the country. The orthodox Muslim law was bound to undergo changes. Even the Sultans of Delhi had recognized the futility of governing the country in strict accordance with the law. Aurangzeb might have resolved to out-Herod Herod but his policy was not destined to be crowned with success in the end. The disregard of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Hindus did in no way help the Puritan monarch.

Still the observance of the main forms of the orthodox law was essential. The Indian rulers and judges had always looked for guidance to the decisions of eminent Muslim jurists outside India. They themselves did not feel competent and authoritative enough to set precedents. The Indian rulers and qazis could, like those in other countries, base their decisions on any one of the four schools of jurisprudence. The Mughals, however, were orthodox sunnis and preferred the Hanafi school. Aurangzeb felt a crying need for the preparation of an authoritative code dealing with all the problems of Muslim law, as viewed by different schools of jurisprudence. The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* was the result.

This book must have been of considerable help to the judges, especially regarding civil cases. As regards criminal offences, changes seem to have been introduced by the Mughals (as the following pages of this article will show).

Administration of Justice by the King

The emperor was the highest authority in the kingdom. It is wrong to say that his will was law in all affairs. There was the Muslim law and he dared not transgress its boundaries without provoking misgivings in the hearts of the ordhodox. It was particularly true of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb who were staunch Sunnis and were anxious to base their activities, as far as possible, on the orthodox law. But the Mughal emperors were subordinate to no other religious authority in or outside India.

The Mughal emperors were extra-ordinarily hard working. The monarch had his eyes on all departments of the state. So, naturally, that of law and justice received its proper share of attention. The king himself was the highest court of appeal as well as the court of first instance. But it seems quite improbable that he might have been able to dispose of a large number of cases that came up before him for hearing. A large number of appeals from distant parts of the country could not be filed in his court. Only sufficiently rich men could have thought of doing that. The innumerable inconveniences that attended long travels in the middle ages might have made the people hesitant in going to the imperial court.

For administering justice himself the king had set apart a day of the week. In the cases of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb it was Wednesday. No court was held on that day. Straight from the darshan-window the emperor, followed

by law officers, qazis, muftíes, scholars and the kotwal, went to the Private Audience Hall. From about 8 o'clock in the morning till noon he continued deciding cases. Every plaintiff was produced before the emperor in turn and the latter learnt his case. He would try to ascertain the facts by inquiry, take the law from the lawyers and pronounce judgment. This was, perhaps, the case when he acted as a court of first instance. Appeals as well could be filed in his court. This was the case when the plaintiff had either been refused a hearing in the local courts or had got an adverse judgment. It seems that the poor fellow was not any the better even now, as we are told that the emperor would not, as a rule, decide his case then and there. It was impossible to ascertain the facts. So he would send the case back to the provincial governor. The latter was to make full investigations, was to decide the case himself, or, if it was too subtle for him, to report it to the emperor.[1]

Besides Wednesday, the emperor would hear cases in the Diwan-i-am as well on almost all days of the holding of the court. The petitions of the aggrieved parties were presented before him. These grievances could concern different matters. The persons involved would be ordered to approach the emperor who cross-examined them. Unlike the modern practice a case was not prolonged to any length of time. Decisions were prompt and the grievances of the aggrieved party were often redressed on the spot. As different cases would come up for hearing, it was not possible to pronounce a similar decision every time. If the facts of a particular case seemed obscure to him he would not pronounce judgment until full investigations were made and a report submitted to him.[2] Aurangzeb, Bernier informs us, used to devote two hours on another day, to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower order.[3]

The Qazi and the Mufti

The word 'Qaza' means, philologically, consideration of a matter and determining it. The office of the qazi consists in requiring fulfilment of the commands of the law and the prevention of what is prohibited.

It was the duty of the Sultan to appoint the Chief Qazi. The latter was to be of full age and understanding, free, a male, a Muslim, equitable, possessed of hearing, sight and knowledge.

It was necessary for him to know the Quran, the Sunna, what the community had agreed upon by *ijma* and the divergent opinions held by earlier doctors. He must have the capacity to comprehend the various aspects of *qiyas* (the system of inference) when need arose. He must be intelligent, alert, reliable, firm and element. He must possess reasoning powers. Above all he would be chaste, an abstainer, just, upright, truthful in speech and resourceful. It was best if he belonged to the Quraysh.

In case there was only one man really capable of holding the office, it was his duty to assume judgeship and the king could compel him.

According to the author of the *Ma'alim Al-Quraba*, the Qazi was to sit for justice in an open place in the middle of the town, one well-known to the people. It must not be in a mosque. The Fatawa-i-Alamgiri differs here. It allowed him to sit in a mosque. He could, if he liked, decide cases in his house. It was preferable, if the house like the mosque, was situated in the middle of the town.

The muftis were those who gave the *fatwa* by a judicial consultation based on one or more precedents. It was not for them to pronounce on personal

[1] Rai Bhara Mal in Elliot, vii. 17273; Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, 14, 70; Bernier, i, 300.

[2] Bernier, i, 300; Manucci, ii, 462.

[3] Bernier, i, 300.

opinion. A mufti must be acquainted with the Quran, the Sunna, *ijma* and *qiyas*. He must be chaste, Muslim and intelligent.

The qazi held a prominent position in every Muslim-country and so in India. The chief qazi was appointed by the emperor and he could appoint his subordinates. The emperor must have been anxious to select a suitable man for the post. But the qazis do not seem to have enjoyed a worthy reputation. "In hand-books of the law of all times, the qazis 'of our time' are represented as unscrupulous beings, whose unreliable judgments were chiefly dictated by their greed." [1] The same thing do we find in India. The contemporaries are one in their opinion as to the covetousness of the judges. Their main consideration was money. Any one who could appease their greedy nature was sure to receive a favourable decision. This, however, was not true in all cases. There were qazis like Shaikh-ul-Islam, the son and successor of Qazi Abdul Wahab, who were scrupulously honest.[2]

The practice of doing justice by the qazis was the same in the provinces as at the centre. Friday was a holiday. On Wednesday they had to attend the darbar of the Governor of the king. On the remaining five days they were to sit in their office from two hours after day break till the time of Zuhar prayers and decide cases.[3] "It was originally the duty of these judges to decide all legal differences between Moslems and men of other creeds under Moslem protection, who called for their decision."[4]

Bernier lamented that the Indian judges were not armed with sufficient powers to redress the grievances of the oppressed subjects.[5] It might be true. Cases of oppression of the subjects at the hands of the officials and of official corruption do not seem to have worried the qazis very much. But they had their inalienable sphere of jurisdiction. All cases that lay under canonical law were to come before the court of the qazis. Aurangzeb's farman of 1672 throws a flood of light on the working of the qazis' court. There were very few criminal cases which did not engage his attention. The only such cases, perhaps, were those where the criminals were an organized band of robbers or rebels. Against them large armies were sent and the punishment was inflicted at the hands of the royal generals or faujdars. Otherwise, almost all cases of theft and highway robbery were to be tried in the qazi's court and so the other crimes. The crime was to be established by him and the punishment to be carried in his presence. In the case of murder, after a charge had been established against the accused the qazi was to report the facts to the emperor. The kotwal and the Muhtasib were police officers. They sent such cases to the qazi as needed judicial investigation. The qazi would send a criminal to the kotwal for detention. The kotwal would not imprison him unless there was a written order. [6]

How were the criminal cases among Hindus themselves and between Hindus and Muslims decided during the Mughal period ? Our authorities do not help us much here. We can take resort to imagination only. It seems that the criminal law both for Hindus and Muslim was the same. In case of theft, robbery, highway robbery, adultery, fornication, murder, treason, riot and official corruption different punishments could not have been provided for different communities.

In the provinces the provincial qazis were responsible to the Chief Qazi. Appeals against their decision could be made to the Chief Qazi. Every important town had its own qazi.

1 Hurgronje, III.
2 Bernier, i, 269-70 ; Fryer, i, 244; English Factories, 1665-67, 160 ; Manrique, ii, 115.
3 Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 165. *Cf.* Mughal Administration, 117.
4 Hurgronje, 110,
5 Bernier, i, 253.
6 Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 167-71.

Akbar had acknowledged the village panchayats, which, since old times, decided cases between the contending parties in the villages. We are quite in the dark about their continuance or otherwise. It is likely that under Akbar's successors they continued functioning as before.

The Executive Officers and the Administration of Criminal Justice

The executive officers played no less an important part. The Governor, like the king, set apart Wednesday for administering justice in person.[1] The qazi and other law-officers attended the court and helped the governor in deciding cases. It seems that the procedure was the same as in the king's court. He took law from the law-officers and pronounced judgment. In case, however, there was not enough legal evidence but the governor and the officers of the Adalat were otherwise satisfied of the guilt of the accused, he was sentenced.[2] Large bands of robbers and rebels engaged his attention. Against these he would send large armies probably under the command of the faujdar. He, like the faujdar and the kotwal, was held responsible for all the robberies that occurred in his jurisdiction.[3]

The faujdar and others used to send captives to the governor. The latter was to inquire into their cases, and send them to the qazi for trial whenever necessary.[4]

Aurangzeb wished that the local cases should be decided locally. The local officers were to see that no cases should be allowed to reach the royal court.[5]

The kotwal was an important officer. His primary responsibility was the maintenance of peace and order in the city. If a thief was not found, he was to compensate the sufferer.[6] A criminal was usually first brought before him. He was to investigate the charge against him. The innocent person was to be released forthwith. If the charge came under ecclesiastical law, the case was to be forwarded to the qazi.[7]

1 Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 165.
2 Aina-i-Gujrat, i. 167-168. *Cf.* Mughal administration, 124, 125.
3 Manucci, ii, 461-62; Marshal, 39; English Factories, 1637-41, 61; *Ibid.*, 1670-77, 255. *Ibid.*, 1656-60, 313
4 Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 171. *Cf.* Mughal Administration, 129.
5 Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 153.
6 Fryer, i, 246; Thevenot, Part iii, 19-20; Ovington, 137-38; Manucci, ii, 420-21; Tavernier i, 447.
7 Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 171. *Cf.* Mughal Administration, 129-30.

THE BENGAL LEGISLATURE ON ITS TRIAL

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The Mutiny revealed one fundamental defect of the British Administration in India—the lack of any real touch between the rulers and the ruled. As pointed out by Professor Dodwell, "many besides the wise and moderate Saiyad Ahmad, attributed much of that irreparable misfortune to a complete failure to gauge public feeling in India, and thought with him that Government's task would be much easier if it could take regular counsel with leading

Indians."[1] Sir Bartle Frere, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, urged upon Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, the policy of associating non-officials, Indian and European, in the work of legislation. He warned Sir Charles Wood not to be misled by those " who recollect India only when the traditions of ancient exclusiveness still leavened the whole community."[2] He frankly told him that the Mutiny had brought about many changes, " You can have little idea how much India is altered; but if you consider that in these five years we have changed from an aggressive and advancing power to a stationary one; that the sympathy which Englishmen, whether long resident or fresh to India, felt for the natives has changed to a general feeling of repugnance if not of antipathy; that instead of a general feeling of content with their Indian lot and an inclination to live in India, to think of India, and consider things in an Indian rather than an English point of view, the English here are, almost generally, openly discontented, disinclined to remain here, or to care for India, and disposed to look at things in any but an Indian light; that all this feeling is inevitably reciprocated by the natives; that our debt and our unavoidable expenses have greatly increased, and that not only increased taxation, but great reduction of expenditure are necessary; that this produces more or less discontent in every class both of Europeans and of natives, and that every day increases the intimacy and frequency of intercourse between this country and the people who are seething around you in Europe, inquiring, intriguing, money-getting, revolutionizing;—think of all this, and you will have some notion of how different the task of governing is, from what it was when Lord Dalhousie landed here."[3] He was of opinion that " increasing trade, accelerated communication, and thirty-three millions of English capital invested in railways, made and owned by unofficial people," necessitated the association of non-official Europeans with the legislation of the country.[4] He added significantly " the days are gone by when you could govern India without much caring what the Europeans and Europeanized community say or think of your measures, and unless you have some barometer and safety-valve combined in the shape of a deliberative council, I believe you will be always liable to very unlooked-for and dangerous explosions."[5] He also earnestly pleaded for associating Indians with the legislation of the country—" Then if you admit non-official Europeans you must also admit, in at least equal proportion, natives, who in intelligence and education are their equals, and who have a far greater stake in the country."[6] He feared that the inclusion of non-official Europeans and the exclusion of Indians would only help in perpetuating the worst features of the ' Colonial Policy '—a policy " which puts all real power into the hands of European officials and European Colonists, and treats the natives as at best in *statu pupillari* to be ruled, taught, and perhaps petted, but to be excluded from all real power or influence on the measures of Government, and to be governed, not with reference to their own reason and sense of right or wrong, but according to our latest English notions of what is best for them."[7] The views of Sir Bartle Frere prevailed to some extent and the Act of 1861 enlarged the Council of the Viceroy for the purposes of making laws and regulations by the addition of not less than six nor more than twelve additional members, " provided that not less than one-half of the persons so nominated shall be non-official members." The Act of 1861 restored to some extent to the Governments of Madras and Bombay the powers of local legislation, which had been taken away from them by the Act of 1833. The Governor-General was directed

[1] Dodwell : A Sketch of the History of India—1858 to 1918, p. 230.
[2] Frere to Wood—10th April, 1861 (quoted by Martineau in life of Sir Bartle Frere, I, pp. 336-341).
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*
[7] Minute by Frere, 2nd October, 1861 (quoted by Martineau in Life of Sir Bartle Frere, I, p. 345).

to create a Legislative Council for the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William. This Council was established in January, 1862. But hardly had the Bengal Legislative Council begun to function properly, before it was placed on its trial.

In 1867-68, when the Bengal administration came in for a good deal of criticism (as a result of the Orissa Famine Commissioner's Report, 1867), Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy of India, expressed strongly the opinion that there was no real advantage in maintaining a separate Legislature for Bengal. "It does not possess the same weight as the other local legislatures. All that it does, could be done, and better done, by the Legislative Council of India." [1] Lord Lawrence's scheme was that the Lt. Governor should possess summary powers of legislation for limited purposes (subject of course to the supervision of the Government of India), all other legislation for Bengal being entrusted to the central legislature.[2] He tried to show by an examination of the list of the Acts passed by the Bengal Legislative Council for the last four years that "much of this legislation relates to what have been termed by Maine 'parish vestry' subjects, which might have been more efficiently disposed of in the administration than in the legislative department and which were not really worthy of the formal machinery of a legislature." [3] Such purely local acts could have been easily disposed of by the Lt. Governor himself while the important questions could have been transferred to the Imperial Legislative Council.[4] The Central Council was far more suited to deal impartially with grave and powerful interests. "There is some danger of large provincial questions being dealt with in a comparatively narrow spirit by a local legislature, where particular parties might obtain a preponderance. Such measures would have a far better hearing in the Governor General's Council, which has representatives from Bengal and other parts of India, besides having the presence of the Governor General's Executive Council and of the Lt. Governor himself." [5] Thus bills relating to cooly labour, indigo contracts, rents of land, would be dealt with much more satisfactorily and much more liberally by the Imperial than by the local legislature.[6] Questions of so much importance as these are the only questions which really demand legislation; and such legislation can be best afforded by a general and not a local council. Lesser questions had better be left to executive.[7] "Moreover the waste of time, the fruitless discussions, the exaggerated notions, which inevitably arise in a local legislature, on comparatively petty subjects, are in themselves objectionable, distracting the minds of the local Government and of its officers from the weightier matters of administration, and rendering them less apt to examine into the realities of the interior of the country. Thus this playing at legislature detracts from the vigour and efficiency of the Executive, and impairs that sort of active management which is essential to all Indian provinces, and to none more so than to Bengal." [8] These views of executive efficiency reveal the chief defects of the mental processes of Lord Lawrence—a lack of political foresight and an excessive concentration upon the needs of the moment. In the light of later events, it is difficult to rank Lord Lawrence among the constructive statesmen of India—his political principles were a hindrance to the political progress of India. The majority of his Councillors and Mr. Grey, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, who advocated the extension of the system of local legislatures seemed to have anticipated the future progress of India in a more clear-sighted manner than did Sir John Lawrence.

[1] Lawrence's Minute, 19th February, 1868, pages 66-68;- Parliamentary Papers (East Indies) H. Commons No. 256 of 1868.
[2] Lawrence's Minute, 23rd March, 1868; pages 122-128.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*

Mr. W. Grey, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, not only advised the retention of the Bengal legislature but also ably advocated the extension of the system of local legislative assemblies. His main reasons were the following :—

(*i*) If progress is to be made—better roads, improved education and courts of justice, better police system, fresh taxation will be required. But local taxation would be more expedient than general.[1] "I am strongly of opinion that instead of attempting to augment the general revenues by new taxation, it should be left to each local administration, under the control of the central authority, to raise funds for such purposes by local taxation." [2] Hence it is not desirable to abolish the Bengal local legislature.

(*ii*) The remedy is "to increase the number of local legislative assemblies, and to aim at restricting the general legislature as much as possible to legislation of a general character." [3] That there has been hitherto in regard to both points, a very wide departure indeed from the intentions of those by whom the Indian Councils Act, 1861, was framed, no one will doubt who will read paragraphs 31 to 34 of the Secretary of State's Despatch, dated the 9th August, 1861. In these paragraphs, it was assumed that the Governor General in Council would "deem it expedient to give effect without delay to the provisions of the Act in Bengal, the N. W. Provinces, and the Punjab," and his attention was specially directed to the provision of the Act which empowers the Governor General, with the Queen's sanction, to constitute by proclamation new provinces for the purposes of the Act.[4] Not less clearly did the Secretary of State indicate his view as to the expediency of restricting the Central Council to general legislation—"As a general rule, the supreme legislature should as little interfere with matters of local administration as a local legislature should be permitted to interfere with those matters of general administration which are reserved to be dealt with by the Council of the Governor General." [5]

(*iii*) "Now in my opinion the policy of the legislation of 1861 was a right policy, and I hold it to be a matter for regret that it has hitherto been to so small an extent acted upon. I venture to urge strongly that the principle of local legislatures in which the local public and local interests shall be represented, partly by official and partly by non-official persons, may not be abandoned, but that, on the contrary, the intention of the legislation of 1861 may yet be practically accepted and acted upon, the ultimate aim being to restrict the general legislation absolutely to matters of general administration." [6]

(*iv*) There seems to be a strong objection in principle to giving to the executive authority, especially if that authority is a single individual, the power to make regulations having the force of law. "I would urge that under every Government there should be a local legislature separate from, though of course comprising, the executive authority." [7]

Sir H. Maine confounded the arguments of Sir John Lawrence with all the subtlety of his powerful intellect. He advanced the following weighty reasons against the proposal for abolishing the Bengal Legislature :—

(*i*) The effect of the transfer of the Bengal business to the Supreme Council would be to break it down altogether. "We have already too much in the Supreme Legislature the 'parish vestry' business of the North-west, the Punjab and the Chief Commissionerships . . . . The legislation of the Bengal Council would be a crushing addition to our work." [8]

(*ii*) "I would further object to the proposal because it will entail a very unsatisfactory change in the composition of the Supreme Council. Nothing

1 Grey's Minute, 13th March, 1868, pages 105-117.
2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* 6 *Ibid.* 7 *Ibid.*
8 Maine's Minute, 27th February, 1868; pages 90-93.

to my mind can be plainer, than the principles on which that Council should now be constituted. We require gentlemen who can explain the practical difficulties which attend the application of laws to parts of India in regard to which European experience or received European principles play us false. We require to know what view of a tax will be taken by a half-reclaimed Pathan marauder on the other side of the Indus; what will be the effect on Marwaree traders in Gujerat of a change in the law of negotiable instruments; what difficulties will arise from altering the received rule of 'market overt' among cattle-stealing populations on the border of the Native States. We need the aid of authorities on the intricate land revenue law of the temporarily settled provinces, on the heterogeneous land tenures of the Punjab and the North-west, and on the multitudinous family and clan customs characteristic of all North-western India. But if we undertake to legislate for all Bengal Proper, we must in justice to that wealthy and civilised province, half fill the Council with Bengal civilians and educated Bengal natives, classes both so leavened with European ideas that they will be of little or no use in helping us to ascertain the modifications of first principles which are the conditions of their application to India as a whole." [1]

(*iii*) On the other hand, Bengal will suffer from not having liberty to discuss and enact a certain class of measures in an assembly composed of native and European gentlemen exclusively familiar with the province and the people. The province stands by itself, in respect of the character of the native population, the large admixture of Europeans, the peculiar nature of the Revenue Settlement, and the absence of institutions which are the basis of society in other parts of India. "I do not see why the moral and material progress of Bengal should be impeded by the doubts of gentlemen intimately acquainted only with the less intellectual and less supple population of Upper India." [2]

(*iv*) The Governor General proposes to "grant the power of summary legislation for the whole of the Bengal Presidency and its dependencies." The Governor General would no doubt say that a great deal of legislation would be got through under the summary power, so that no great additional labour would be thrown on the Supreme Council. The change the Governor General purposes is of a very doubtful expediency. "In settling the legislative mechanism fittest for this province, we cannot quite put aside the fact that the powerful class consists of Europeans and of educated natives who, when their interests allow it, write, talk and think as much like Europeans as they can. We cannot give this class representative institutions; but it is a very serious matter to withdraw from them a formal legislature when they have once had it, and to subject them to that concrete form of despotism which consists in the complete blending of executive and legislative power." [3]

Sir Bartle Frere crystallised this view in an illuminating sentence—"Perpetual infancy of civil government is just as impossible as perpetual reconquest." [4]

As a result of the opposition of his Council, Sir John Lawrence modified his opinions to this extent that he agreed to retain the Legislative Council for Bengal but he was quite averse to extending the principle of local legislation to any other province.[5] The Act of 1861 contemplated the eventual formation of local legislatures in other provinces besides Bengal.[6] But the question of time was left to be solved by the Executive Government of the day. And Sir John Lawrence was definitely of opinion that the time had not arrived for acting on the permission thus accorded.[7]

1 Maine's Minute, 27th February, 1868. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*
4 Frere's Memorandum, 2nd December, 1867.
5 Lawrence's Minute, 23rd March, 1868.
6 *Ibid.* 7 *Ibid.*

INDIANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICES

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II

We have traced the progress of the movement towards larger employment of Indians in superior posts up to the point at which the scheme of Statutory Civil Service was tried and found wanting and it was decided to review the whole question *de novo* through a special Commission of Enquiry. Particular heads of enquiry were prescribed, but the terms of reference to the Commission were broadly defined, on the suggestion of the Government of India, to be "to devise a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher, and more extensive employment in the public service." Accordingly a Public Service Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Aitchison with fourteen other members [1] was appointed under the orders of the Governor General in Council contained in the Resolution of the Government of India (Home Department) No. 34/1573-98, dated October 4, 1886. Their enquiry was to "embrace the employment of Natives of India not only in appointments ordinarily reserved by law for members of the Covenanted Civil Service, but also in the Uncovenanted Service generally, including in this term the lower administrative appointments, executive and judicial, and all special Departments connected with the civil administration of the country." But the Commission were instructed *in the first instance*, "to direct its attention mainly to the question of the condition under which Natives of India should be employed in the posts which are ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Service, and to questions relating to the admission of Natives of India and Europeans respectively to those branches of the Uncovenanted Service which are directly engaged in the executive and judicial administration of the country." As regards the Covenanted Civil Service, the Commission was instructed "to consider the means best adapted to secure the admission of competent Natives of each province of India to such full proportion of the Covenanted Service employed in that province as may not, under the orders of Her Majesty's Government, be reserved for Europeans." As regards the proper strength of the Covenanted Service, although the question had been already fully investigated, yet the Commission was not precluded from reviewing it over again, if it deemed fit; nor was the Commission debarred from considering the desirability of further limitation in the number of posts reserved by law for the Covenanted Service or of larger employment of Natives of India in offices connected with civil administration not usually held by them. The Commission was not bound in its enquiry by the terms of the Statute or the Rules made thereunder but might recommend fresh parliamentary legislation, if necessary. They were instructed specifically to consider the existence, extent and grounds of any dissatisfaction felt by Natives with the Statute or the Rules, the suitability of service privileges and general conditions of service to Natives obtaining office under the Statutory Rules, the results of the selections made under the statute, the relative merits of different systems of appointment, etc. The Commission was further instructed to fully examine and report on the advantages and disadvantages of competitive selection in India on the conditions of such competition, on the desirability or otherwise of requiring candidates selected in India to proceed to England with a view to passing there a period of probationary training and in case of their finding the existing system

[1] The personnel of the Commission was as follows :—
Sir C. U. Aitchison (*Chairman*). *Members* : (1) Sir C. A. Turner, (2) The Hon'ble R. C. Mitter, (3) The Hon'ble J. W. Quinton, (4) F. B. Peacock, (5) Raja Udai Pertab Singh, (6) H. J. Stokes, (7) T. H. Stewart, (8) The Hon'ble Sayyid Ahmad, (9) W. B. Hudson, (10) The Hon'ble Kaza Sahabuddin, (11) Salem Ramaswami Mudaliyar, (12) W. H. Ryland, (13) Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lukshman Nulkar, (14) D. S. White.

satisfactory to enquire about the proper limits of age for Indians and the desirability of any changes in the character of their examination, etc.

One of the most important findings of the Commission related to the Statutory Civil Service. They held that the system had failed to fulfil the expectations anticipated and its condemnation was fully justified. The grounds on which the system had come in for criticism, are as follows :—

In the first place, the Statute itself was unsatisfactory in principle in so far as it provided for the appointment of Natives otherwise than by competition only to certain specific posts and not for enrolment in an organised service. Further by not fixing the exact number of appointments it did not impose any obligation on the government to appoint up to that limit. Secondly the Statute went directly against the spirit of the Act of 1883 by making the place of birth and domicile the basis of qualification and disqualification for certain offices under the Crown. Also by creating a special channel for the admission of Natives apart from the regular channel of competition, by implication it cast a reflection on the competence of the Natives to succeed in the open competition; but what Indians demanded was the removal of obstacles standing in the way of Indian candidates competing on terms of equality with British candidates.

Thirdly, the definition of the expression 'Natives of India' as given in the Statute was arbitrary and unsatisfactory. It was also difficult to substitute any other definition that would be satisfactory. The Statutory Rules which were meant to implement the Act were even more unsatisfactory. Exception was taken to them on the ground that they introduced a system of patronage by the back door with the result that the appointments were made on considerations other than those of merit and ability of the candidates as professed. It was not surprising, therefore, that the recruits under the new system did not come up to the standard secured under the English competition and necessarily suffered in dignity and esteem compared with their compeers recruited in England. Although officially recognised as their equals, practically the Statutory civilians were treated as members of an inferior branch of the Covenanted Service.

Fourthly the system was condemned as being unfair and unjust to the claims of the able and deserving officers of the Uncovenanted Service.

The Commission recommended the abolition of the Statutory system with the consequential repeal of Section 6 at the Statute (33 Vict. cap. 21).[1] In lieu of the Statutory service the Commission recommended that a new and distinct service called the Provincial Civil Service should be organised in each province by grouping together the higher executive and judicial appointments in the Uncovenanted Service and some of the posts hitherto reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service, which would be correspondingly reduced.

Thus there would be two distinct services with distinct conditions attached to each, but the members of both the services should, as far as possible, be treated on a footing of social equality and when occupying similar offices should be graded together in the official precedence list.

The members of the Provincial Services should be recruited locally by the Local Governments by methods suited to the local conditions of each province. As

[1] In making the recommendation the Commission observed as follows :

" Whether . . . . in the light of its practical results, that is, as a means of strengthening the position of Government by attracting to its service persons of a class who would not otherwise have come forward for this purpose, or as a remedy provided by Parliament for inequalities inevitably associated with a system whereby the conditions of the examination for the Covenanted Civil Service are primarily designed to meet the circumstances and requirements of English education, the experiment must, in the opinion of the Commission, be pronounced a failure . . . .

The Commission, after careful deliberation, finds itself unable to suggest any amendment either of the Statute or of the Rules such as would adequately meet the issues which it has had to consider." (*Vide* para. 72 of the Report.)

regards the Covenanted Civil Service which was to be renamed as the 'Imperial Civil Service' (the distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted being deemed inaccurate and misleading), the commission held that the claims of natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service, and the admission of competent natives of each Province of India to a due proportion of the posts hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, can be best provided for by reducing the service to a *corps d'élite*, by limiting its numbers to what is absolutely necessary for manning the highest administrative positions and transferring the appointments released from the Covenanted Service to the Provincial Service to be organised in each province which was to be mainly recruited from Indians. The members of the Imperial Civil Service should continue to be recruited only by competitive examination in England open to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, including Natives of India.

They did not favour the proposal of holding an examination in India for the Covenanted Civil Service simultaneously with the examination in London. To accommodate the Indian candidates and from some other considerations also, it was recommended that the minimum and maximum limits of age for Native candidates at the open competitive examination in England should be reduced to nineteen and twenty-three years respectively.

The members of the Imperial Civil Service were liable to be posted in any part of the Indian Empire, whereas the services of the members of the Provincial Service were to be confined within the limits of the respective provinces they belonged to. Below the Provincial Service there was to be another service comprising the lower administrative appointments in the previous Uncovenanted Civil Service to be called the "Subordinate Civil Service." The provincial service should be filled up partly by promotion from the Subordinate Service and partly by recruitment. In view of the provision for promotion from the Subordinate Service to the Provincial Service the rules of recruitment of the former should be so framed as to be in accord with the new situation.

The advantages claimed by the Commissioners for the new scheme of services are as follows:[1]—

(1) It would maintain the very high standard of qualification necessary for the Covenanted Civil Service;

(2) It would meet the general desire for equality of treatment as between European and British subjects;

(3) It would create no difficulties on the score of social custom or religious belief;

(4) It adapted itself not only to the present circumstances of the country generally but to the local conditions of the several provinces and to the requirements of the different classes and races of the population;

(5) It would create the least possible dislocation of existing arrangements;

(6) It would enable the Government to expand its administrative agency with due regard to economy, and to adjust the conditions of appointment in regard to pay, leave, and pension to the separate circumstances of each service;

(7) It would remove all invidious distinctions of class or race. The only distinctions maintained were those of service, qualification and recruitment, it being left open to candidates to select at the commencement of their career the service for which they could qualify themselves.

To implement the changes proposed with regard to the transfer of certain appointments so far statutorily reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service to the newly created Provincial Civil Services and for their readjustments from time to time the Commission recommended some alterations in the Statutes 24 and 25 vic. cap. 54.[2]

[1] *Vide* para. 74, ch. VII of the Report.
[2] *Vide* paras. 77-79 of the Report,

In order to provide for the more extensive employment of Natives of India in offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted service the Commission recommended a reduction of such offices by excluding a number of posts [1] from the list of reserved appointments. But the Commission did not want to make the arrangement a rigid one. So they recommended that the Statute of 1861 should be open to alteration from time to time to keep pace with changing conditions, the Secretary of State in Council being empowered by the insertion of a provision in the Statute to remove from the schedule appointments or classes of appointments or to include them in the schedule, as may seem to him desirable from time to time. The Commission did not also want to make the exclusion of the members of the Provincial Service from the scheduled appointments quite absolute, although they were not to have any claim to them, as of right. To provide for an element of flexibility in the matter they recommended that Section 3 of the Statute should be so amended as to provide for special appointments being made to offices specified in the schedule on account of exceptional merit and ability proved in the public service and to judicial offices specified in the Schedule on account of exceptional merit and ability proved in active practice as a barrister, advocate or pleader of a High Court. In case of such appointments which, under section 4 of the Statute, were to be provisional, subject to confirmation by the Secretary of State in Council, they recommended that the section in question should be amended and supplemented as follows:—

(1) the period within which the pleasure of the Secretary of State in Council was to be expressed should be six months instead of twelve;

(2) in the event of the pleasure of the Secretary of State in Council not being expressed within six months, approval was to be presumed;

(3) in the event of the appointment being disapproved, the law should declare that no official acts performed by the officer, until the receipt of the notice of such disapproval, shall be held invalid on that ground.

These were the principal recommendations of the Commission affecting the organisation and structure of the services, superior and inferior, concerned with general administration. They made also detailed recommendations as to preliminary qualifications, recruitment, probation and general conditions of service relating to the Provincial Civil Service which we need not discuss here. A considerable section of the Report is also devoted to Special Departments, such as Customs, Police, Jail, Education, Postal, Forest, etc. where qualifications of more or less specialised character are demanded in the personnel. In making recommendations for these Departments also the Commission was guided by the same principles as in the case of Imperial and Provincial Services, such as offering increased opportunities for employment of Indians, consider-

[1] These included.—(1) Under-Secretaries to the several Governments in India; (2) One-third of District and Civil and Sessions Judges or Chief Judicial Officers of Districts; and in the Punjab one-third of the officers aforesaid after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for Military Officers; (3) one-third of the Joint and Asstt. Judges in the Bombay Presidency, (4) one-tenth of Magistrates or Chief Magisterial Officers of Districts (including Deputy Commissioners); and in the Punjab and Assam one-tenth of the officers aforesaid after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for Military Officers, (5) one-sixth of Joint Magistrates in all provinces, (6) one Member of the Board of Revenue in the Madras Presidency; in the Lower Provinces of Bengal: and in the North-Western Provinces and one of the Financial Commissioners in the Punjab. (7) One (where there are more than one) of the Secretaries to the Board of Revenue or Commissioners who constitute the Board of Revenue in the Madras Presidency; in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and in the North-Western Provinces, and one Secretary to the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, (8) one of the Chief Revenue Officers of Divisions in all provinces except Bombay and Assam. (9) One-tenth of Collectors of Revenue or Chief Revenue Officers of Districts, and in the Punjab and Assam one-tenth of the officers aforesaid after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for Military Officers. (10) One-sixth of Deputy or Subordinate Collectors where combined with the office of Jt. Magistrate in all provinces, (11) one-sixth of Assistant Collectors or Assistant Commissioners and in the Punjab and Assam one-sixth of the officers aforesaid after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for Military Officers.

ations of both economy and administrative efficiency etc. In some of the Departments they recommended the filling up of some posts from the ranks of the Imperial or Provincial Services.

The recommendations of the Public Service Commission (1886-87) met the grievances of the Uncovenanted Service to a considerable extent. They drew a clear-cut line between the two services, with the names altered to suit changed conditions. They made it impossible that racial considerations should influence appointments in either service. While maintaining the character of the superior service (the Indian Civil Service) as a "corps d'elite" demanding English standards and an English education but open to all natural-born subjects of the Crown irrespective of race or colour, provided they satisfied the requisite qualifications, they at the same time provided for members of the Provincial Service prospects of promotion to higher posts previously reserved exclusively for the Covenanted Service so as to attract natives of ability and merit. Equality in social precedence was also accorded to members of both the services holding similar appointments.

The use of the term 'provincial' in place of 'uncovenanted' was expected to remove a grievance and contribute to the desired social equality between the members of the two services.

Copies of the Report of the Commission were forwarded to the Secretary of State by the Government of India with their Despatch No. 6 (Public), dated January 24, in course of which they stated that the Report was receiving their consideration and that they would naturally require for some time for placing their considered views on the question before the Secretary of State. This they did in a later Despatch (Public) No. 58, dated October 9, 1888, to Viscount Cross, the Secretary of State. After reviewing the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Commission, the Government of India in course of the Despatch offered their own suggestions on the main recommendations. The recommendations of the Commission were generally approved. But the Secretary of State considered that the proposals with regard to the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services which involved fresh legislation were unnecessary. He also held that the suggestion to throw open to persons who were not members of the Indian Civil Service certain posts previously reserved for members of that service under the Act of 1861 and to amalgamate them unconditionally with the Provincial Civil Service Appointments was not consistent with the idea that such posts should be filled by specially selected officers of proved merit and ability. He was not in favour of the idea of the members of the Provincial Civil Service acquiring vested rights in the higher appointments, in view of the fact that they were recruited in the main with reference to qualifications required to fill posts of a less responsible and less independent character. In his view the legislation proposed would not really facilitate the scheme of the Commission. Their end would be better served, "by requiring each provincial government to place on a separate classified list in each province certain posts and by declaring them publicly to be offices to which members of the Provincial Civil Service might, subject to certain conditions, properly be appointed." The lists were to be arranged to suit the needs and circumstances of each province [1] and the aptitudes of its people. The posts placed on the lists came to be known as "listed posts. The proportion of appointments in the different branches were to be varied accordingly from time to time. "Lists" of the offices in the Covenanted Service henceforth to be called the "Indian Civil Service" were prepared in each province and thrown open to the Provincial Civil Service, the proportion remaining the same as under the Statutory system, *viz.*, one-sixth. Rules were promulgated in 1892 and lists of the posts

[1] Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Service in India (1912-15), Vol. I, p. 10.

were issued shortly after. These Rules remained in force till 1910 when some changes were made in them to give effect to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. But the 'lists' drawn up were not by way of a permanent arrangement as contemplated by the Commission, but were subject to be modification from time to time according to varying conditions and necessities of the situation.

The Local Governments were authorised to make up 'lists' of posts to be open to the Provincial Service. A beginning was made with 93 posts being 'listed' under the scheme. The name of the province to which the service belonged was to be prefixed to the service in each province, the designations of the different Provincial Services being Bengal Civil Service, Bombay Civil Service and so on. The Secretary of State for India in a Despatch, dated the 12th September, 1889, approved of the closing of the Statutory Civil Service by absorbing them in the proposed "Provincial Civil Service" with some special concessions to the existing incumbents and creating a list of posts ordinarily held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service, which was to be open to members of the Provincial Service. The Secretary of State also favoured the raising of age limits for competitive examination to 21-23. The rules for the recruitment of the Provincial Civil Service were to be made by the respective Provincial Governments.

The lower grades of the Uncovenanted Service were formed into a Subordinate Civil Service as recommended by the Public Service Commission. The line between the two services was drawn according to the local conditions of each province. Promotion from the subordinate to the provincial grade was to be only by way of reward for special merit. The action taken on the recommendations of the Public Service Commission thus marks a definite step forward in the process of increasing association of Indians in the administration of the country which set in with the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown.

The employment of Indians in the superior offices increased since then but was not up to their expectations. The Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services, however, were principally manned by Indians.

In 1892 the position of Indianisation of the services stood as follows:—

Drawing salaries between Rs. 5,000 and 10,000 a year				Drawing salaries of Rs. 10,000 a year and upwards.		
Indians.	Eurasians	Europeans		Indians	Eurasians	Europeans
421	96	1207	Civil Department	55	10	1211
25	26	1699	Military	1	1	854
85	39	549	Public Works	3	4	239
4	3	22	Incorporated Local Funds	½	—	9
—	—	—	Railways	0	—	105
535	164	3477	Total	60	15	2313
12·8	4	83·2	Percentage of Total	2·5	0·625	96·875

(Calculated on the basis of Gokhale's Evidence before the Welby Commission, *vide*. Reply to Q. 18331).

The results of the enquiry made by the Islington Commission in 1912-15 did not show any marked improvement, as would appear from the following table:

Salary	Indians	Anglo-Indians	Europeans
Rs. 200 a month and upwards	4573	1593	4891
Rs. 1,000 a month and upwards	142	71	1565
Rs. 3,000 a month and upwards	0	1	96

At the time (1913) there were about 100,000 Domiciled Europeans in British India, 102,000 Anglo-Indians and 242,000,000 Asiatics which means that the proportion of Domiciled Europeans holding lucrative posts was very high indeed in comparison with that of Indians.[1]

The newly-created Provincial Civil Service came to have in 1908, 2,263 members consisting of subordinate judges and magistrates, of whom as many as 2667 were Indians. The number of superior officers in January, 1909, was 1,244 of whom sixty-five were Indians, the total number of cadre posts in the Indian Civil Service being 955, making allowance for occasional deputations, temporary appointments, leave vacancies, etc.[2] As regards the lower grades a reduction of the European element was consistently carried on under the orders of the Secretary of State and the Government of India issued in 1879 prohibiting appointment of persons not being natives of India to posts carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month and upwards, without the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council in each case with the exception of appointments falling under certain stated conditions, *e.g.*, that the person to be appointed belonged to the Convenanted Civil Service or to the staff corps or originally nominated to certain Departments such as Finance, Forest, Education, etc. by the Secretary of State or the Governor General of India.[3] In this connection reference may be made to observations made in a Government memorandum tracing the course of Indianisation in different spheres over a period of thirty years preceding 1889: "The superior officers of the Indian Civil Administration are drawn chiefly from the Civil Service which consisted in January, 1888, of 964 persons of whom 59 were natives of India. Thirty years ago there were no natives on the Bench of any Supreme or Chief court, or in the Legislative Council or in the Civil Service. Next after the Civil Service the most important section of public servants in the Civil Department is the Subordinate Civil Service in which there were last year 2,588 subordinate judges and magistrates; of these 2,553 were natives of India including 104 Eurasians, domiciled in India, and only 35 were Europeans. Since 1879 [4] a person not a native of India, or a member of the Covenanted Civil Service or staff corps, cannot be appointed to any judicial or revenue office, carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month, without the previous sanction of (*a*) The Secretary of State, as regards offices in Madras or of Bombay, (*b*) The Govern-

[1] *Vide Communal Triangle in India*, by A. Patwardhan & A. Mehta, Appendix I.
[2] Memorandum of the Improvements in Indian Administration for 50 years cd. 4956 (1909).
[3] *Vide* App. J. of P.S. Commission Report 1886-87.
[4] The Public Service Commission of 1886-87 recommended that the orders of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India, passed in 1879, which forbade the appointment without previous sanction of persons other than natives of India to offices carrying salaries of Rs. 200 a month or upwards in certain departments of the Uncovenanted Service, should be cancelled and that when it is considered necessary to recruit Europeans for the Provincial Service otherwise than under the published rules, the recruitment should be made in Europe and by His Majesty's Secretary of State. (Par. 84 of the Report of P. S. Commission 1886-87. For the order see App. J. of the Report.

ment of India, in case of other provinces subject to a few exceptions, this rule is strictly observed." [1]

The action taken on the recommendations of the Report of the Aitchison Commission marks the final stage in the drive towards more extended employment of Indians in the Civil Services till the next chapter of constitutional development was ushered in by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. In the meantime another Royal Commission was appointed, it is true, to investigate the problem along with other ancillary matters, but as will be seen later, even the publication of the recommendations of the Commission was held up by World War No. 1 and no further step in the direction of larger Indianisation was taken till after the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919.

The story of Indianisation so far as the period under review is concerned, however, will not be complete if we do not give an account of another move taken in the same direction although it did not bear any fruit till the next period. It is the move towards the introduction of simultaneous competitive examinations both in London and India in order to place the examination within the easy reach of Indians, which will be discussed in the next article.

[1] Memorandum of results of the Indian Administration during the past 30 years of British Rule in India (East India—Improvements in Administration, dated 18th February, 1889, cd. 5713).

(To be continued)

"CONDITION OF THE CHRISTIANS OF THE NEAR EAST IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES."

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The countries of the Near East: Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt seemed about 400 A.D. to be the real political, economic, intellectual and religious centres of the Civilised World. Western Asia had come into the orbit of the 'Imperium Romanum' and had played a considerable part in the policy and development of the Empire of Rome.[1] The Occident had passed completely under the sway of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths and by the 5th century of the Christian Era had passed out of the knowledge of the Orient. Latinity and the neo-Hellenic Civilisation, however, still played a considerable part in Western Asia, especially among the Christian sects of Syria and Palestine. The restoration of the Roman Empire by the successors of Diocletian and Constantine had not been able to infuse into Latin culture its pristine vigour. In transferring the seat of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, Constantine the Great had simply consecrated the superiority of the East over the West. As the urban life of the West decayed under the impact of the Barbarian invasions, so did it grow in the East: in the cities along the Mediterranean Periphery. The culture and social system of antiquity found a safe refuge in the ancient cities of the Orient—Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Beyrouth, Constantinople. In these cities all the riches of the civilised world were concentrated. Side by side with material wealth, the riches of the spirit also grew in abundance among philosophers and anchorites. It was perhaps a 'Renovatio Imperii Romani.'

[1] *Cf.* Louis Bréhier: "L'église et l'Orient au Moyen Age" (Paris, 1928) (Bibl. de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique) also, Pirenne: "Mahomet et Charlemagne" (Brussels).

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The flourishing and populous urban centres of the Orient were centres of Christian propaganda. Even in the villages of the Hinterland Christians were numerous, as we know from the institution of the 'Chorepiscopate.' The vitality of the countries of the Orient was further marked by a Renaissance of the national languages, for instance, Coptic and Armenian, which became, at the expense of Greek, the languages of religion and liturgy in Egypt, Syria, Armenia and Persia. Monastic establishments were founded; at the close of the 4th Century A.D. the Syrian Desert, for instance, was peopled by colonies of Anchorites and Cenobites who lived on locusts and wild honey and practised strange austerities.

Great scholars, Doctors and Masters of the Church appeared in the East: St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom. In the 4th and 5th Centuries of the Christian Era the Schools of Theology attained their apogee. It was in the Orient that dogmatic controversies were born and their multiplicity and complexity showed the intensity of local religious life. In its outward manifestations, the religious life of Western Asia took the forms of religious edifices: Basilicas with Cupolas; Cruciform or Octagonal Martyria.[2] Religious fervour, both concrete and abstract, was at its zenith. The Martyrs of the West were likewise venerated.

The Orient was also the centre of heresies. Monothelites and Monophysites, Nestorians and Jacobites, Arians, Maronites and various other sects and sub-sects flourished in Syria and Palestine. Each had its own system of monasteries. The Syrian Christians were, only partly, followers of Latin Catholicism. There were a few who followed Greek rites. Among the Armenians some followed Latin rites and some Greek.

In the Economic sphere, Colonies of Oriental merchants, mainly Syrians, had been founded in the West in the large towns: namely at Rome, Ravenna, Treves, Lyon, Bordeaux, Narbonné and Marseilles.[3] In the sixth Century A. D. the Syrians had the monopoly of transcontinental commerce. Until the Arab Conquest they plied their trade with great vigour. The Mediterranean carrying-trade was entirely in their hands.

In the early years of the Mohammedan Conquest and Occupation of Syria, the Christians were left severely alone, contrary to the popular beliefs of Western European ecclesiastical historians. The Caliphs showed great consideration at times towards their Christian subjects,[4] many of whom held high offices as 'Ministeriales.' The father of St. John of Damascus was a high officer of state. The 'Catholicos' or Patriarch—Archbishop of the Nestorians was generally *persona grata* at Court. Many of the Caliphs helped towards the founding of churches and monasteries and often gave away large sums of money for repairs to Christian edifices. Religious persecutions were rare under the Omeyyad Caliphs. Western scholars have usually been one-sided when dealing with the life of the Christians under Moslem rule. The Christians were not docile. The various sects led a life of perpetual bickering and often relapsed into complete anarchy. That side of their history is often ignored. Even among the adherents of the same faith quarrels about Dogma and Ritual were rife. Even to-day in Syria this tendency is noticeable. It is precisely on this supposed basis of Moslem oppression that we find the growth of the Medieval superstition of the 'Frankish Protectorate over the Christians of the Holy Land.' The Christians under the Moslems enjoyed autonomy of worship and lived in separate quarters,—but there is no direct historical evidence whereby we can show that the Christian sects of the Levant also enjoyed political autonomy and extra-territorial rights.

[2] Baron de Vogüé, "Syrie Centrale" (Paris, 1865-1876). Also Art. by M. Jean Lassus: "Deux églises cruciformes du Hauran" in "Bulletin d'études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas." Vol. I, 1928. Pp. 13-38.

[3] L. Bréhier: "Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge." (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Vol. XII, 1 and 2.)

[4] Sir T. W. Arnold: "A History of the Propagation of the Islamic Faith." (Publd. 1913).

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THE DOCUMENTARY FILM

ITS PROSPECTS IN POST-WAR INDIA

SHEIKH IFTEKHAR RASOOL

CINEMA as a whole may be roughly divided into four main branches, each of which in turn may be sub-divided under various headings. Firstly, there is the story-film, including comedies, melodramas, epics, fantasies, sagas, satires, chronicles, etc. under which heading some 90% of the world's films may be grouped.

Secondly, there is the ' documentary ' film, split up into many classes, of which newsreels, scenics, teaching-films and interest items are only a few, which may range from straightforward records for historical purposes to dramatically conceived epics.

Thirdly, there is the cartoon film, the least developed of all, but well-known on account of Disney's ' Mickey Mouse ' and ' Silly Symphonies ' and earlier by ' Krazy Kat'. And fourthly, there is the ' absolute ' film, dealing with a medium for experimental abstract expression.

One hundred years ago the skill of a craftsman was the only means by which a pictorial record of a person, an object or a landscape could be secured for pleasure or reference. Today, the craftsman has been superseded by the photographer. And it is largely because the camera, both still and movie, is believed to possess the capacity for faithfully recording the phenomena of the world about us that its artistic evolution has been recorded.

EXPERIMENTAL STAGES

From the first experimental stages of cinema until after the World War, for a period of about 25 years, the production of films flourished upon the mistaken belief that the camera recorded what was placed before it. In consequence, we find that more consideration has been accorded the actors and scenery than the method by which they have been given screen presence.

And having begun on an unsound basis, it was natural that the infant movie should borrow and adapt from the theatre not only subjects and actors, but methods of style and approach. So movie became an industry.

During this kindergarten period many productions now famous were launched, and countless personalities projected themselves into the cinema's social album. In America, short melos, westerns and comics made use of the movie's primary function—action. In Europe, France, England, Germany and Italy turned especially to films of an historical nature, many of which had a competitive influence on the American movies.

DURING THE WAR

By the time that Europe was plunged into war in 1914, two events of outstanding importance occurred in America. Griffith, who had been making films from an early date, applied a symphonic method of story construction to ' The Birth of a Nation ' and ' Intolerance.' Production in Europe naturally came to an end, and the road was left clear for America to further its technique of the slapstick comedy and to plant the roots of the star-system, both of which worked well.

When the war clouds cleared in Europe, Germany made the first move towards films, again turning to romantic pictures of an historical type. Sweden also was contributing to the movie craft, making pictures infused with a strongly national quality of lyricism and following the line of the literary saga. In Italy and England production was almost non-existent. In France costume pictures held the day, with a strong tendency for mass-effects and sentimental treatment.

In brief, the film had reached the point when stage technique had been modified for camera presentation, the gesture still being used in relation to the spoken (but unheard) word; acting was considered indispensable, and the cheapness of rowd-labour made the temptation of spectacle hard to avoid. The method may be well described as 'living photography'.

The Documentary Film

What we have come to call ' documentary ' did not appear as a distinct method of film making at any given moment in the cinema's history. It did not suddenly become manifest as a new conception of film in any particular production. Rather has ' documentary ' evolved over a period of time for materialistic reasons, partly as a result of amateur effort, partly through serving propagandist ends, partly through aestheticism.

Of these, the most vivid examples are undoubtedly the Soviet productions, which are not intended, primarily, as entertainment, having been made at the instigation of the U.S.S.R., which recognised in the film a powerful medium conveying messages, in dramatic fashion, to its vast population and also to the peoples of as many other nations as possible.

Nevertheless, if we can regard the Soviet film in a level-headed way, and temporarily ignore its propaganda, we are immediately conscious of its original construction—the finest example of creative film-making yet seen. This achievement is due to the Russians, at the outset, regarding the film as an entirely new and individual art-form, requiring methods of expression having no connection whatever with any other medium of expression.

Social Analysis

Every tendency in cinema reflects the social and political characteristics of its period, which in turn may, or may not, according to one's reasoning, be a reflection of the economic conditions. The documentary method, as a distinct kind of film, as an interpretation of social feeling and philosophic thought, has materialised largely as a result of sociological, political and educational requirements.

The cast in the documentary is not engaged through theatrical and screen agencies or through advertising, but from life-craftsmen—farmers, mechanics, cooks—all play their parts, and, if the producer knows his job, they play them unconsciously. It has been left to the documentary to project the inner self of a nation, not only to other countries, but to those at home, and perhaps the greatest achievement the film has so far made, is to have discovered how to dramatise everyday life, without falsifying it.

The immense range of discursive power made possible by film technique suggests the documentary method as an admirable instrument for clarifying and co-ordinating all aspects of modern thought, in the hope of achieving a fuller analysis that may in turn lead to more definite conclusions. It is the use of the film medium to interpret creatively and in social terms the life of the people as it exists in reality.

Some Tendencies

Analysis of all the tendencies of the documentary gives rise to the criticism that one of the real issues of modern society is being almost wholly avoided. In this age of social realism, surely one of the first aims of the documentary should be to examine the problem of man's place in society. Machinery, agriculture, craftsmanship, culture and the rest cannot be divorced from their human fulfilments.

Yet this is the very mistake into which some of the documentary producers seem to have fallen. Apparently they fail to realise that the basis of the documentary method is a materialistic one; that it is the material circumstances of civilisation which create and condition the present cultural, sociological, political, religious and aesthetic ideas of society. In following a path opposite to that of the star-film, the documentary has been permitted to prefer the mass to the individual or, in some cases, simply an impersonal statement of facts.

Not only have the documentary producers failed to relate the mass to the individual, but, despite the fact that their material and subjects are naturalistic, they have also failed to relate their themes to current social consciousness. Here, at least, was a bid to meet the issues of Russia going to school. The human being was, in a sense, related to the problems from which the theme arose. It is in the documentary method which has proved the most suitable for these ends because it is a method of philosophic reasoning.

Success in India

It was this conviction that the cinema provided one of the finest means of educating public opinion and enlightening the people of India on the day-to-day events of the war as well as the vast repercussions it had on India's economy, which persuaded the Government of India to embark on short film production, a field which had not been previously patronised by Indian producers because of the paucity of commercial returns.

In order to do so successfully, the Government of India established a film-producing unit at Bombay, staffed with directors, cameramen and technicians recruited from the film trade. This unit, known as the Information Films of India, has since produced a number of documentary films with a commentary in five major languages generally understood in different parts of India—English, Hindustani, Bengali, Tamil and Telugu.

It may be said that 1944 saw a further intensification of India's war effort and the short film was instrumental in recording her many-sided contributions to the war effort. The beneficial influences of such shorts will probably be appreciated in full when one looks back in perspective after the war on the useful functions they have fulfilled during the present emergency. They convey useful and interesting information about India, her Art, Culture, and Industries . . . her public life and the rapid progress she is making in every sphere.

Other Developments

There have been other developments, of course. With its Indian News Parade, the film has begun to rival the newspaper. It competes successfully with the novelist and the playwright and the short-story writer. Originally the Indian News Parade was produced in Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu and Bengali, but now it is being produced in English and exhibited side by side with foreign newsreels at English cinemas all over India.

An interesting new departure in short films production in 1944 has been the release of a series of two-minute films on problems of every-day life. More commonly known as 'Quickies,' these films focus public attention on matters of topical interest and their immediate popularity has opened out a very effective avenue for conveying important information rapidly to the public through the medium of the cinema.

In the brief space of time that Indian documentary films and newsreels have been in existence they have made great strides in popularity with cinema-goers and constant requests for booking of these 'shorts' prove that they are filling an important place in the sphere of cinema entertainment. There is every reason to hope, therefore, that what was originally started as a war measure will earn for itself a permanent place in post-war India.

SLEEP

P. K. Banerjee, N. K. I. (Sweden)

1

O, sleep, sweet sleep! so prodigal of bliss, what charm
Lurks in thy dreamy, drooping lids! how secure and warm
In thy soft care we feel; thy breath so sweet is the balm
That heals all earthly ills; thy refuge, how serene and calm!

2

The fret and fever of our hectic life is drowned
In thy dewy-stream; with bliss supreme we're crowned;
With what magic wand thou workest day and night?
The peace of Heaven seems wrapt around thee,—Hypnos light.

3

Thou invisible! working from within, how tender
Is thy light-as-feather touch; to thee we render
Our loving homage due, O, softer than the softest!
Thou com'st with silent steps, O, fairer than the fairest!

4

The fountain-head of bliss sublime, spurt out, spurt out!
To cool my brain that glows like ardent coal,—I shout;
To thee I look as a helpless child to its mother dear,
The shadow of doom in my heart gives rise to terrible fear.

THE WHITE THORNY ROSE

P. K. Banerjee

(An adaptation from the original Poem in Norwegian, entitled Den Hvite Tornerosen by the reputed present-day Norwegian author and playwright, Johan Falkberget).

1

White thorny rose! now over heath and mead
And dew-wet moss steals autumn, thee to weed;
Death's beaker's press'd between his hollow hands,
How ominous, lo! there he silent stands.

2

For pouring in the cold and bitter drink,—
In the last hour of thy so peaceful life—
To thy wee mouth, so bright and white. Thy strife
To 'scape,—what doth it avail on Death's dread brink?

3

Thy soul, thy young mysterious little soul
Is borne away to-night—O, where its goal ?—
In the arms of Death, so cold and sere!
Ah! but thou remained for aye a gem here, here.

4

O'er mountains high and lonely vales profound
And forests deep, so full of sleep and dream,
Now for the bright, bright Heaven art thou bound?
My heart! why flow not then like yonder stream?

5

White thorny rose! dost thou remember him,
The Man of Sorrow, whom thou didst once crown ?
The Crown of Thorns before which Heav'n shone dim—
Should cruel Death kill thee for aye ? I frown;

6

Nay, not in anger harsh thou, soft and fair,
Thou, Beauty rare, t'eternal sleep condemn'd;
Nay, a thousand times art sweet thou bless'd,
What though to mortal sight this's not laid bare.

7

Every spring from hideous Death doth bring
Thy immortal soul here back to Earth,
To cheer our now grown gloomy, homely hearth;
Have I not then good cause of thee to sing ?—

8

The sun, thy spring-time lover, thee caresses
And folds sweet thee in soft and warm embraces;
Thy bosom heaveth in glee, Maiden coy!
My heart too leaps in sunny mirth and joy.

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FRENCH THOUGHTS ON WAR

One of the most permanent contributions of World War I to French thought was anti-militarism and pacifism in the novels and stories. Barbusse's *Feu* (Fire) and *Enfer* (Hell) led the way. In Duhamel's *Vie de Martyre* (Life of the Martyr) the anti-nationalist view of war was exhibited with as much art or as little propaganda as possible. But on the other hand, Vaillant-Couturier's *La Guerre de Soldat* (The War of the Soldier) out-Barbussed Barbusse in anti-militaristic sentimentalism. The pacifism of *Clarté* and *L'humanite* inspired or influenced Anatole France no less than Romain Rolland.

SEVEN MYSTERIES OF EUROPE

World-War II's impacts on French letters are not much in evidence as yet. But that pacifism is a ruling passion is brought home to us in *Seven Mysteries of Europe* by Jules Romains, a poet and story writer of the *Nouvelle Revue Francaise* group. Romains is a leftist and pacifist. Born in 1885 he was already the leader of " unanimists " among expressionists in literature previous to World-War I. He was a force to be reckoned with in the literary sphere between the two wars. It was possible for him to play a semi-diplomatic role on behalf of pacifism during the 30's. Some of the experiments of this role have been brought together in the present book after the fall of France.

DOUBLE-DEALINGS OF STATESMEN

The mysteries described by Romains are in a sense much too simple. They consist in inconsistencies, contradictions duplicities and double-dealings such as are to be encountered in interhuman contacts. Daladier, Gamelin, Laval, Leopold II, Spaak, Chamberlain, Halifax, Abetz, Ribbentrop and other personalities of the period are exhibited as changeful and undependable. Romains is so sincere a pacifist that anybody who turns out to be incapable of keeping up the pacifistic tendencies for a rather long period becomes for him a mystery. It is a very naive philosophy which expects in international or even intra-national relations the permanence of a code, doctrine or line of action. All the same, the realistic stories furnished by Romains are quite delightful to students of human affairs.

EUROPE AS SEEN BY JULES ROMAINS

We are told by this French man of letters that the British Runciman Investigation of 1938 in Czechoslovakia was meant to intimidate Benes and make France more manageable. It enabled Germany to feel that England fundamentally disapproved of France and would drop her at the last minute (p. 131).

A snapshot of British political mentality in 1937 *vis-à-vis* Germany and Russia is furnished by Romains as follows : " The English can easily picture a Germany, says he, throwing itself on Russia. 'With Hitler busy in Russia there would be a breathing space...he might break his own neck there ! Of course, the Soviet must have no chance of winning. That would be the end of everything " (p. 127).

The " Mystery of Leopold II " consists in Belgium's change of front *vis-á-vis* France. She was for some time anxious to develop intimacy with France down to December, 1938. But by the end of September, 1939, the first month of World-War II,—the French authorities had a " feeling that the King of Belgium was not playing square with them." They were not surprised that on May 28, 1940, King Leopold capitulated to Germany.

In French higher politics since 1934 " English conscience " has, we are to understand, " implied something meaningless or has been tantamount to hypocrisy " (p. 118). During 1937 the French Foreign Minister could never find out if the English would like a victory for the Spanish Republicans in France. In November of the same year the city of London was " still advancing heavy loans to Hitler for his intensive rearmament " (p. 125)

UNANIMIST SCHOOL IN LITERATURE

Such inconsistencies and hypocrisies have upset Romains. Or, rather, have they served but to open his eyes? World-events sincee 1939 should not fail to furnish him with fresh mysteries. As an expressionist poet and novelist he is pre-eminently concerned with the soul and its direct perceptions of the reality. The views of mankind that he has collected are in keeping with this unpainted and unornamented approach to life. As early as 1908 he held forth this poetic method in *Vie-Unanime*. He set before himself the mission of renovating French poetry. He became an expressionist of expressionists. His " unanimism " sought to emancipate literature as much from symbols as from allegories.

ETERNAL VERITIES OF WORLD POLITICS

This direct piercing or perception of truths Romains has now applied to the international world. Nobody can deny that the unclouded vision of an earnest truth-seeker has been rewarded with the sight of mysteries. Only, every expressionist would admit that the mysteries are not simply seven in number even for the short quinquennium 1934-38. Their name is legion. Besides, these mysteries are the eternal verities of world-politics.

THE RUSSO-GERMAN MYSTERY

One mystery is furnished by the relations between Russia and Germany, Germany and England as well as England and Russia. The latest phase of this mystery is the expansion of Soviet Russia into all those territories which down to 1917 belonged to Czarist Russia and beyond. The domination and occupation by Russia of all the non-German territories lying between Germany and Russia and from Finland to the Aegean may not be very prejudicial to Germany. But this fact kills and mutilates entirely the Versailles map of Europe, enriched as it was with a number of independent states. How far it suits England is a grand mystery of today, to-morrow and day-after-to-morrow.

Round the World

"The Land of the Morning Calm"—

Korea or Chosen has had a checkered history. During the brief period that she had held intercourse with foreigners—barely sixty years—her trials and tribulations had been unceasing. As one authority * remarked, a few years after the Russo-Japanese War, "Whether the victory in war (*i.e.* the Russo-Japanese War) rested with Japan or Russia mattered little to Korea; sooner or later she was destined to lose her independent status among the nations of the world. Relieved of the obligation of paying tribute to Peking, as a consequence of the conflict between Japan and China, she immediately found herself face to face with dangers that were a far greater menace to her integrity than were any of those which she had experienced in the days of her tutelage. And it was not long before she had good reason to learn that modern diplomacy makes no honest endeavour to shape its actions in accordance with its assurances . . . Japan, having swept away the last vestige of Chinese domination (over Korea), gained the ear of the throne and thus prepared the way for her own steady advancement. So soon as the Japanese established themselves at Seoul, radical changes under the guise of reform were introduced."

It is evident from this sufficiently vivid description how Japanese influence had infiltrated into Seoul and how the best weapons of Modern Diplomacy had been brought to put up a barrage against Korean national sentiment.

The Japanese sought to alter the whole aspect of the national life through the medium of Imperial Ordinances backed by their own military forces. They overcame the opposition of Korean elements, including elements in the Palace itself bent on opposing them. With the result that she exercised sovereignty over Korea and enjoyed exclusive privileges in the adjacent region—Southern Manchuria.

The 'iron-glove' rule of the militarists was succeeded by a protectorate. Inspite of the fact that the Koreans had suffered under the maladministration of their own rulers, they nevertheless found foreign rule irksome and even detestable. Their feelings may be gathered from the following remarks of a traveller :—"A crowd has been weeping loudly on a bluff outside the eastern gates of Seoul." The protectorate was based on reforms inaugurated by Prince Ito, a great statesman and the first Japanese Resident-General of Korea. Prince Ito's work in Korea has been likened to that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. His critics contended, however, that his regime was marked by a relentless severity towards the people; writers on the Far East admit now that Prince Ito tried his best to be impartial, perhaps impartially severe, but the constructive side of his work cannot be underestimated. An elaborate and efficient administrative machinery was created. However, except only in name, Korea was already a colony of Japan. Its real ruler was the Resident-General, appointed direct by the Mikado, to whom he was alone responsible.

* "Empires of the Far East" Vol, II [Pp. 1025-26] by Lancelot Lawton; publd. by Grant Richards Ltd., London, 1912.

A Cabinet of Ministers was called into existence, but each department of State was supervised by a Japanese Vice-Minister, while one-third of the secretaries and clerks employed were Japanese. Japanese officials were nominated to important positions at Court, Nevertheless, as long as Prince Ito remained in charge of the Administration as Resident-General, he tried to mete out justice to the Koreans. To use his own words : " Because the conduct of our nationals towards the Koreans is not what it ought to be, they (the Koreans) pose abroad as sufferers, and entertain the keenest dislike for us at home, with the very regrettable result that much injury is done to the relations of the two countries. I am persuaded that when our nationals go to Korea hereafter in increasing numbers, earnest steps must be taken to check this impropriety. It is needless to say that such of my nationals as are engaged in legitimate enterprises in Korea will be protected. But I propose to take ample measures for dealing with *mauvais sujets.*" (Quoted in Lancelot Lawton—" The Empires of the Far East "—Vol. 2—P.1064). During the Protectorate, Japan spent on Korea a sum approximating £15,000,000; the maintenance of the Resident-General remained an annual charge upon the Imperial Exchequer. However, Japan got more out of Korea than she put into that country. Thanks to Korea, Japan gained a firm foothold on the Continent of Asia, a point of vantage, in fact. The Ito Regime, inspite of its reforms, had paved the way to annexation. The days of Korea had become numbered by 1910. The Treaty of Annexation, drawn up between Viscount Masakata Terauchi, Resident-General, and Ye Wan Yong, Minister President of State, and signed by them on behalf of their respective countries, sealed the fate of Korea. " The Land of the Morning Calm had become an integral part of Japan, the Empire of the Rising Sun " and in this condition this unfortunate country languished till Japan was herself defeated in the World War just ended.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers—

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers now meeting in London—in reality, consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the ' Big Five '—is after the pattern of the ' Old Diplomacy.' It is quite in the traditions of the other Congresses of Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers in the past; it does not differ fundamentally from the Congress of Vienna or from the Berlin Congress of 1878. The Powers are busy planning the consolidation of gains and the division of spoils. Gains still mean territorial gains and ' diplomatic ' geniality at such conferences is nothing more than what Bismarck once termed ' *Bauerenfängerei* ' (' simpleton—catching '). Like Versailles this Conference, too, bristles with problems—even greater problems—and difficulties. World War II has brought into the World complexities of the most sinister and dangerous kind. The problems are no nearer solution because everybody at the Conference looks only after his own interests. As Goethe remarked nearly 150 years ago in his " Prologue to the West—Östlicher Divan " the Powers never think in terms of the larger community but only in terms of their own self-love.

Soviet Russia is easily the most powerful member of the Conference. " The expansion of Soviet Russia into all those territories which down to 1917 belonged to Czarist Russia and the domination and occupation by Russia of all the non-German territories lying between Germany and Russia and from Finland to the Aegean has mutilated entirely the Versailles map of Europe, enriched as it was with a number of independent states." This fact alone has brought new factors into play. Other problems awaiting solution are those eternal causes of friction between the various Central European and Balkan States : boundary and territorial disputes between Hungary and Rumania, between Albania and Greece, between Bulgaria and Greece. Transylvania and Macedonia are ' Res Nullius.' Yugo-Slavia has claims on Trieste, so has Italy. The position of France, Spain and Italy in Europe also warrant close attention.

On the periphery of these problems lie the other ones of Franco-Syrian relations, of the Arab States vis-à-vis Jewish immigration, of Egypt and of Anglo-Iranian and Russo-Iranian relations. Their solution is difficult because everybody is in an ebullient mood.

Five-year Plan for Bengal—

A tentative plan for post-war reconstruction in Bengal has been thought of by the Bengal Government. The liquidation of the Permanent Settlement, irrigation and land reclamation projects, the raising of the standard of living by increased opportunities for employment, development of subsidiary industries, improvement of agricultural, veterinary and health services, the construction of over 3,500 miles of new roads, the implementation of the Sargent Report—these are some of the main features of the Plan. The Plan is the first instalment of a 20-year project and is estimated to cost Rs. 159 crores.

The Plan is purely tentative at the moment as no scheme has yet received the sanction of the Government, Furthermore, this plan is not a blue-print. It lays special emphasis on Agriculture, and irrigation and drainage projects in Western and Central Bengal and the reclamation of some 1000 sq. miles of waste lands in Western Bengal are some of the concrete features of future agricultural improvement. The eradication of water-hyacinth and the promotion of horticulture also constitute subsidiary features of agricultural development. Livestock is to be improved and the Fisheries Department is to be expanded and provision will also be made for fish curing plants etc. As regards communications, 3400 miles made up of 900 miles of National Highways and 2600 miles of district and village roads are to be completed in the first five years ending

1951-52. Primary Education forms the most important feature of the educational plan and is to be modelled closely on the Sargent Report. In regard to Medical facilities and Public Health all existing hospitals are to be greatly improved and better equipped.

The Plan is certainly ambitious, although marred by tendentiousness and a desire for just expanding existing departments, but the needs of the Province are extremely urgent and pressing. It is to be greatly regretted, however, that the emphasis is all on Agriculture, road-building, Fisheries and Sericulture and that the development of major industries finds no place in the Plan. Educational improvement and the admission that Compulsory Primary Education for all may become a reality within twenty years as well as improvements in Public Health certainly in no way detract from the pressing necessity of encouraging industrial development; for without that the standard of living cannot really be raised.

Iraq-Turkish Accord—

During the recent visit of Regent Abdul Ilah of Iraq to Turkey a semi-official statement was issued from Ankara to the effect that the opportunity was taken during the Regent's visit to survey particular as well as common interests. This is certainly very encouraging and is in direct line with the policy outlined in the *Pact of Saadabad* during Atatürk's régime. Atatürk wanted to be on the best neighbourly terms with all the countries bordering on Turkey.

Between Iraq and Turkey there are no outstanding questions; the question of Mosul or the frontier at *Tel Kutchuk* provides no uneasy thoughts for either Ankara or Baghdad. Iraq has her own problems—such as that of the Kurdish community. Turkey has her Kurds too. If Turkey pursues similar cordial relations with Syria the Lebanon and other Arab countries then she would have brought cohesion in the Near and Middle East a step nearer realisation. Cohesion between these two virile peoples—the Turko-Mongol and the Arab—would augur well for a strong Western Asia.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Planning for Plenty.—By Sikander Chowdhury, New Era Series, No. 1. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

This neatly got-up pamphlet is not another book of plans. It does not offer us a new plan, and though it ably reviews the plans with which we are familiar, its main purpose is not to scrutinise them. It strikes out a new path; instead of weighing plans, it examines planning or rather the economic system in the context of which we propose to plan.

I welcome this departure. We have been paying too much attention to individual plans and to details of planning and too little to its fundamentals, and not many of us ask ourselves if planning is at all possible within the framework of the economic order in which we live. The author of this pamphlet undertakes to examine this question. In his opinion "it is more important and immediately relevant to examine the basic conditions of economic organisation which planning is supposed to direct and control than specific programmes of planning that "anybody with a knowledge of simple arithmetic and average imagination can draw up." There is a good deal of truth in this point of view. Economic planning is not arithmetic and technology—not at least in exchange economy—though arithmetic and technology are invaluable aids. It is an attempt to control and order economic relations, and we can plan intelligently only if we start with economic relations as our basic data.

Mr. Chowdhury follows this commendable procedure. The question which he asks over and again is: Is planning consistent with the basic economic relationships of Capitalism? His answer is in the negative, and against the background of widespread, though quite often uninformed, enthusiasm for planning, he might appear to be a pessimist. But he is not a pessimist; he is a realist who is conscious of the difficulty of planning in the face of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism. It is not, says Mr. Chowdhury, that we cannot plan under capitalism. We can plan; but capitalist planning will either fail to attain its objectives or lead us to Fascism. The author's arguments are neatly summarised in the following lines: "There is obviously some feature of the current system which acts as an increasingly heavier drag on the expansion of consumable wealth, and until this is exorcised we cannot plan for plenty. We can discover this essential feature by following the capitalist process. Every act of production leads to a surplus, that which is left over after making good the depreciation of material and providing for the maintenance of the worker. Under present conditions, the owners of the material outfit or instruments of production retain the

whole of this surplus as their profits. They consume only a small fraction of this surplus. The rest of this constantly accumulating surplus or profit is invested in building and acquiring fresh means of production. The piling up of the means of production in this manner leads to a mounting productive capacity. But the power of consumption, represented by the payments made to the workers and the amounts spent by the capitalists on their own needs, continually falls short of this capacity. Production is all the time outstripping consumption, because the surplus accruing to the economy, appropriated by a small class, cannot be permitted to filter down to the consumption sphere.

The reason why this surplus cannot be directly consumed, even by the class which is appropriating it, is that the entire purpose of employing the means of production held by this class is to extract this surplus value, which can arise only in the process of production and not in consumption. Hence it has to be invested." (p. 4).

Briefly the argument is that there is an insoluble conflict between the productive power and the production relations of capitalism. This is the Marxian thesis. But we cannot honestly refuse to consider it, because of its intellectual origin. Orthodox economic theory has moved nearer to Marx than many of us are happy to admit. Their paths do not yet cross; but they seem to be approaching each other, though asymptotically. There are important differences between their assumptions and methods of analysis, but the newer Economics of Keynes and his followers and the Economics of Marx resemble one another in their emphasis on macro-economics, as contrasted with micro-economics. It is not in the exchange relations of the market that we are to discover the forces of change, development, and decay. We must look for them in factors more fundamental and overall in their characters. For Keynes these factors are three psychological propensities of consumption, investment and liquidity, but psychological propensities are the products of or at least they are conditioned by basic economic relationships. Keynes would admit that low propensity to consume is closely connected with the manner of distribution of income which is itself the outcome of production relations. and that the vanishing of investment opportunities must be, in the final stage, due to the failure of consumption to expand. And finally, the demand for liquidity—the villain of the piece—is an intimate expression of a certain fundamental feature of capitalism, *viz.*, the instability of the value of capital assets.

If then the maladjustments of the present economic order are rooted in its fundamentals, can planning which leaves these fundamentals intact correct them permanently? It may be possible temporarily to raise income and output to levels appropriate to full employment by injecting artificial doses of spending power. But if the basic economic relationships of capitalism still operate to limit consumption, will not the system, soon or late, glide off the optimum position and stay out at a level which is consistent with the fundamental propensities? Mr. Chowdhury says, "Once the existing factors are restored to work, employment and expenditure would begin to contract again. The multiplier would resume its negative phase" (p. 12).

The reviewer does not feel guilty that he has spent so much space on this one point, for the author and the intelligent reader will admit this to be the crucial question which must be investigated before we consider particular plans or details of planning. And once the conclusion of the author on it is accepted or rejected, there is little to argue with him on his treatment of other subordinate themes. Nevertheless, the reader would enjoy the swift and easy manner in which the author handles the Bombay Plan, the People's Plan, and the Gandhian Plan The criticism of the People's Plan, however, seems to limp somewhat, and a disproportionate amount of attention is paid to the problem of compensating landlords, who are to be deprived of their property in land. The Gandhian Plan is discussed brilliantly. But, again, to the reviewer, the criticism seems to be somewhat misplaced. Mahatma Gandhi does not want to plan for plenty; he wishes to plan for happiness. And if you believe that human happiness, or rather the quality of human life, is independent of material possessions, at least after a certain quantum of them has been acquired, there is no further point to argue about. Economics cannot be divorced from Ethics and if the Ethics of Gandhism is accepted, the business of the economist is to discuss the internal consistency of the Gandhian economics within the framework of Gandhian Ethics.

In an old review, Prof. Cannan remarked that the proper business of the reviewer is to make use of the central theme of the book he is reviewing as a peg on which to hang his own theories. But some books, curiously enough, contain no central theme, and the reviewer cannot discover any peg. This little pamphlet, however, contains, in addition to its central theme, a series of observations, which will stimulate the lazy reader to think and tempt the alert one to re-examine his own ideas and theories and is not that saying a good deal for a book?

D. GHOSH.

Nehru the Spring of Eternal Youth.—By K. P. C. Menon. Published by Allied Indian Publishers, Circular Road, Bhandari Cottage, Lahore. Pp. 76 Price Rs. 2.

This is a sketch of the life of Jawaharlal based on his autobiography. Such facts as have been used in it are buried in the mass of comments made on them by the writer. Digressions in the shape of descriptions of what would have happened if the life of the hero of the book had taken a different turn abound. Now and again the author has addressed his readers directly, a technique of questionable value. There are abundant signs of straining after a picturesque style, a feature which has undoubtedly detracted from the value of the book.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE"

Our Agricultural Plan.—By D. S. Dubey, M.A., LL.B., Department of Economics, Allahabad University. Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 80. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The author is eminently fitted for the task he has set himself not only by reason of his academic qualifications and his research work but also because of the field work he has done in such matters as economic surveys of villages etc. This is proved by the books on kindred subjects he has already published.

Professor Dubey's practical attitude towards the problem of rural development is proved in the first chapter where he examines the various plans now before the public, in every case pointing out their imperfections. He next proceeds to give his readers a clear picture of the conditions under which his plan may be implemented. It assumes that whether a national and non-national Government is in power, it should discharge its duties in such a manner as to benefit India. The rest of the book is devoted to the description of the plan and the expenses involved in putting it through.

An obvious criticism is that it assumes that, generally speaking, whenever difficulties arise of which there can be little doubt, they should be solved not by the people concerned but by those above them. However objectionable this may be from the theoretical point of view and however quickly we may desire to remove the proneness of our countymen to rely on official help and guidance under all circumstances, it has to be admitted that the author has shown realism by his acceptance of this fact.

There can be little doubt that the author has succeeded in his object as given in his preface, *viz.*, "focussing the attention of the public on the most important and much neglected problem of rural development."

The Betrayal of Freedom.—By Y. G. Krishnamurty, author of *Gandhi Era in World Politics*, *Independent India and A New World Order*, etc., foreword by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Pp. 73. Price Rs. 3.

In this very thoughtful monograph dedicated to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the author, a well-known writer on the influence of Gandhian philosophy on our public life, has given us his views, on freedom as he sees them in the context of Nehru's political ideas. In the preface, Mr. Krishnamurty has offered a clue to the working of his mind when he says that "freedom in its ethical level is an evolving cosmic process. The ideal of national freedom once achieved ceases to be an ideal. It becomes the earlier instalment of a higher process. By transcending itself it prepares the way for the emergence of a wider conception of freedom, non-national and therefore universal. The freedom we demand is precisely a freedom of this kind." And then he goes on to show us how we find Nehru standing for this type of freedom.

The treatment of the subject is marked by profundity and only those who are prepared to to think and to think hard will be able to appreciate the book. The future reader, however, is assured that he will be amply compensated for such efforts as he may be compelled to put forth to grasp the ideas of the author.

A New Approach to the Communal Problem.—By Dr Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Annas 12 only.

This pamphlet dedicated to Sir Ardeshir Dalal presents in the form of a summary the results of the study of the author on our communal problem. In it he gives his readers a short and yet full description of attempts made in post-war Europe to solve the minority problem, following it up with his ideas in regard to the spiritual unity of India in favour of which he adduces some very good reasons. Next comes an account of the way in which Soviet Russia has attempted to solve the minority problem in a country which has 180 different nationalities and 151 different languages. Some idea is also given of the minority problem of Canada and its solution. This is followed by the suggestions of the author for solving our difficulties.

The merit of this pamphlet lies in the fact that in it we have an account of the different ways in which the minority problem has been sought to be solved in the west and which are described in a large number of books not easily available to the reader as well as in the author's estimate of their applicability to Indian conditions. The seven appendices dealing with minority rights consist of relevant extracts from various constitutions and add considerably to its utility as a handy book of reference.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE."

Practice and Precepts of Jesus.—By J. C. Kumarappa with a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, Bombay. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1-8.

This outstanding book printed on hand-made paper on the teachings of Jesus was written by Prof. Kumarappa in June, 1944, when he was under detention at the Jubbulpore Central Jail where he spent over fifteen months. Fortunately, all the books at his disposal at that time consisted of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Dr. R. G. Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible* and two translations of the New Testament by Messrs Moffat and Goodspeed. This had the effect of compelling him to go directly to the original sources so that what he had to say was not coloured to the slightest extent by the opinions of commentators and theologians. The value of the book lies in the fact that in it Prof. Kumarappa has given his readers his ideas on the teachings and the practice of Christ as revealed in the Bible itself and as conceived by him.

In the preface, we get an account of the training the author had received during his childhood and of the practice by his revered mother to whom the book is dedicated, of the teachings of Christ as understood by her. The practical Christianity he saw in action daily must have exerted a profound, though probably at that time unrealised, influence on his outlook, the results of which find expression in the book under review.

Divided into eight sections, the first gives the background, the second the reasons for the coming of Christ into this world, the third the teachings of Christ on such matters as anger, lust, the true meaning of marriage, truth in speech, the law of retaliation, war, love, etc. Then come interpretations of the Lord's Prayer and of the Temptation in the Wilderness. The sixth section makes clear that it was not the ambition of Jesus to found a new religion but merely to reform Judaism for which he sent forth his disciples whom he imbued with certain ideals. The last section but one is devoted to a description of the commandments of men as opposed to those of Jesus, while the last summarises, in the form of a parable, the contents of the whole book.

Four things stand out in this very thought-provoking book. The first is that Christianity in its western garb as preached and practised to-day is not the Christianity of Christ. The second is that we must get back to the words of Christ Himself which must be interpreted in the obvious sense the words convey, provided of course that we have the desire to understand Christianity and that if this is done, we shall have to change our whole outlook. The third is the grief the author feels at the denationalisation of his Indian brethren in faith and the last the depth and the sincerity of his religious convictions.

It is one of the very few books on the teachings of Christ to which the reader can profitably turn every time that he feels discouraged by the wide divergence between profession and practice among so-called Christians and whenever he feels the need for understanding and laying to heart the teachings of the Master. It is only then that he will realise how much suffering and sacrifice are demanded of him who would take up the cross and follow Him. Finally, he would also understand how few must be the genuine followers of Christ, not the least among whom is the much misunderstood writer of this very valuable book.

The Indian Deadlock.—By K. M. Munshi, Ex-Minister, Congress Government, Bombay, and Editor, "Social Welfare," Bombay.

As author of *I follow the Mahatma* and *Akhand Hindusthan* which were reviewed in these columns, as an eminent author in Gujrati, a successful advocate, politician, journalist and publicist, Mr. Munshi is too well-known to need any introduction. In this book he challenges the views put forward by Prof. Coupland in his report on the political situation in India und points out unerringly the defects of the scheme of regionalism suggested by him. What astonishes thinking Indians in books by Britons of this type is the self-confidence, one is almost tempted to use the word self-conceit, with which all kinds of proposals, good, bad and indifferent, are put before the public, From one point of view, the book under review is valuable, showing up as it does that all British experts are not infallible, and that those who desire to experiment on India in the political sphere should, if they have any desire to avoid pitfalls, walk warily.

It would, however, be a mistake to take for granted that destructive criticism is the only feature of the book for though Mr. Munshi resigned from the Congress in July, 1941, over the non-violence issue, he has not lost his love for it. Possessing first-hand knowledge of the inside working of this, the greatest and strongest of our non-communal and nationalist organisations, he has entered a stout defence of its policy and explained how failure to carry it through would have been stultifying itself and its work. The explanations offered for the withdrawal of ministries and the events which followed are convincing.

The genesis of the Indian deadlock and the part played in its creation by the British administration are very clearly explained and most nationalists would regard the views expressed as almost irrefutable.

A factor which adds considerably to the value of this work consists in the constructive suggestions for the ending of the deadlock appearing towards its end. It is here that we find the realism of the man who, recognising the gravity of the situation, is willing to enter into a compromise with those whom he had opposed tooth and nail in the past with the sole aim of seeing his motherland make further political progress.

In every case, the facts have been marshalled and the conclusions drawn from them in the lucid manner one would expect from an experienced lawyer arguing his case before an inattentive jury or an unsympathetic judge whom he is bent on convincing. This telling way of putting things has been reinforced by the graphic style which one has come to associate with the signed editorials contributed by the author to the "Social Welfare."

Manishi Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.—By Rezaul Karim M.A., B.L., author of *For India and Islam, Muslims and the Congress, Anecdotes of HazratMohammad, Pakisthan Examined*, etc. Published by Nur Library, Publishers, 12-1, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1.

The author, a nationalist and orthodox Mussalman gentleman of Bengal, who has suffered untold hardships and bitter persecution for his non-communal outlook which he has expressed in his numerous English and Bengali books, contributions to periodicals, public speeches, etc., and who

has never faltered in his unswerving loyalty to our motherland, has dedicated his life of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to the young people of Bengal. In the preface, he has given a short and vivid account of the life and activities of Syed Jamal Uddin, that great Muslim leader whose contributions during his life time went, like those of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, unrecognised by a majority of the members of the community to which he belonged, of the persecution he suffered, the obloquy of which he was the victim and of the position he ultimately won. He envisages the time when the hero of his book will also win recognition from his co-religionists in just the same way as Mr. Rezaul Karim himself is bound to do. The information contained in the body of the book is derived from the life of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by the late Shree Mahadev Desai, published in England and permission for the use of which was given by Shree Mahadev. This fact, acknowledged towards the end of the preface, is sufficient proof of the value of this book. Mr. Rezaul Karim has a pleasing and an attractive style, has used his facts in a telling way and has pleaded for a non-communal attitude in the political sphere.

We strongly recommend this exceedingly well-written book to all those Bengali parents and guardians who would like to place in the hands of their wards, an account of the life and work of one who has, by reason of his genuine patriotism, established a unique position in the public life of India. We congratulate the author on the success with which he has discharged his self-imposed task of writing a faithful and stirring account of this patriotic son of India.

Samrajyabad-o-Aupanibashniti.—By Nagendranath Datta. Published by Saraswati Library, C/18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta. Pp. 126. Price Rs. 2.

This Bengali book on imperialism and colonial policy consists of three sections dealing with the sharing out of Africa, the Pacific Islands, and the Near and Middle East and a fourth discussing its economic foundations in which we are supplied with the history of the exploitation of China by the Western powers and Japan. It, therefore, covers practically every part of the world which has suffered from imperialistic exploitation. As one goes through the book, he feels that the author has made a careful and detailed study of the exploitation of these areas of the world and that he has shown great discrimination in the selection of his materials so as to present a clear cut picture of the whole situation before his readers. Here and there, notably on pages 97 to 101 and 120 to 124, he has indulged in general observations which bring out the implications of imperialism, the agencies through which it operates, and the various shapes it assumes in different countries by reason of the forms or systems against which it has to fight to establish itself.

The value of this Bengali book lies in the fact that it is one of the very few among the class to which it belongs, which throws a flood of light in an easily available and understandable form on the subject. In view of the paucity of suitable words, the author has been compelled to either use old ones in new senses or to coin a few new ones. It is suggested that as he has, by the use of quotation from many standard English authors which he has left untranslated, taken for granted the knowledge of English on the part of most if not all his readers, he should, in the next edition of this very interesting book, put in brackets English equivalents of the less familiar Bengali technical words.

Pakisthaner Bichar.—By Rezaul Karim, M.A , B.L., Published by Book Co. Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 142. Price Re 1.

This Bengali book by the well-known Muslim nationalist Mr. Rezaul Karim is dedicated to another Muslim nationalist, Maulana Maniruzzan Islambadi, the leader of the Krishak-Praja party of Bengal. It consists of fifteen essays with the central theme, the condemnation of Pakisthan, common to all of them. The first of these shows how the Pakisthan demand of today is merely the repetition on a larger scale of the demand for the Partition of Bengal, which appeared more than thirty years ago. The third, the fourth and the eighth sections lay bare the too far from creditable motives underlying the demand for the partition of India. Its disadvantages are pointed out in the second, the ninth, the tenth, the twelfth and the thirteenth sections. The sixth and the seventh deal very ably with the factors of national unity and the eleventh with the way to attain solidarity, especially Muslim solidarity. The last section, devoted to a critical examination of the different schemes put forward for the establishment of separate homelands for our Mussalman brethren, is marked by a mercilessly logical attitude which shows the hollowness of every one of them.

The reviewer has been at some pains to give a detailed account of this valuable work to prove how the author has tried, and that successfully, to approach the Pakisthan problem from as many different angles as possible. All things considered, he regards it as the best refutation which has so far appeared in Bengali of the demand for Pakisthan.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Local Self-Government in India.—By M. P. Sharma, M.A., D.Litt., Allahabad University. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 111. Price Rs. 2-8.

The dozen sections under which the problem of local self-government in India is discussed are characterised by a thorough grasp of a subject which has not as yet attracted as much attention as it deserves from our students and thinkers. After stressing the crying need for reform, the author lays down the proposition that the antagonism which has so long existed between the controlling agency that is Government and the local authorities must be replaced by partnership between the two.

In order that even the tyro may be able to follow easily what he has to say, Dr. Sharma after telling his readers all that is necessary to know about the functions of municipalities, district boards, and village panchayats, takes up the detailed discussion of each of these institutions. The method followed in each case is to give an estimate of their existing functions, proposals for their improvement with criticisms of them ending with definite suggestions. In the next few sections he gives his views on the constitutional structure of local bodies, the local executive, the permanent service. His acute remarks on central control and on local finance as well as his suggestions for their improvement prove the thoroughness with which he has studied this important problem.

Dr. Sharma's suggestions for reform deserve the careful consideration of all those who are aware of its necessity and of the excellent training, participation in local self-government affords to all those who welcome every opportunity of serving the public.

The Fundamental Rights of Man in Theory and Practice with appendix and bibliography.—By M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., formerly Professor of Politics, Andhra University, and author of *The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency* ; *Federalism in Government*; *The Development of Local Boards in the Madras Presidency.* Published by Hind Kitabs. Bombay. Pp. 64. Price Rs. 2.

The bibliography is sufficient to prove how well-equipped the author is for the task to which he has set his hand, a view confirmed by quotations from them incorporated in the book. His mastery over his subject is evident from the very clear way in which he has handled it and which has made it easy for even the man in the street to understand the origin, the evolution, and the implications of the theory of fundamental rights. Not the least interesting parts of the book are the sections devoted to the criticisms urged against the doctrine and the significance in the Indian setting. This solid and, at the same time, most interesting book on an admittedly difficult subject is recommended to all those who would like to know everything worth knowing about the doctrine of fundamental rights with the expenditure of a minimum amount of time and effort.

Economics of Non-Violence.—By V. L. Mehta. Published by Hamara Hindusthan Publications, 23-2, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 28. Price As 4 only.

This is a reprint of an article contributed by Mr. V. L. Mehta to the September, 1944, issue of the "Indian Journal of Social Work" edited by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. In it the author seeks to prove that the manufacture of what are generally called consumer's goods on a large scale with the help of machinery is a form of violence in a country where people find no adequate outlet for their energies. It is contended that the machine is a servant of mankind and that its use to replace man where he suffers from complete or partial unemployment at the ultimate analysis amounts to the surrender in our social life of the creative to the mechanical principle.

Tariffs and Industry.—By John Matthai, B.Litt., (Oxon), D.Sc. (London), C.I.E., formerly Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Government of India. Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs, No. 20. Pp. 32. Price As. 6.

After giving the history of the appearance of discriminating protection and incidentally pointing out the advantages derived by India from its adoption, the author in the course of this short but very interesting pamphlet discusses the future of Indian industries and gives very sound ideas as to the limits within which it will encourage their development.

M. B. B.

Ourselves

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The following is a list of recent important additions to the Calcutta University Library collections :—

Aesch, A. G F.G.V. Natural Science in German Romanticism. N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1941.

Ewing, A. C. A short commentary on Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. London, Methuen, 1938.

Cole, G.D.H. Some relations between Political and Economic Theory. London, Macmillan, 1935.

Abdul Majid Khan. (The) Communalism in India, its origin and growth. Foreword by Rajendra Prasad. Introduction by Kalinath Ray, Lahore. Paramount Publication, 1944.

Rao, R. N. Economic Planning in India, Rajkot, Kitabghar, 1945.

Chatterjee, (Sir) Atul Chandra. Federalism and Labour Legislation in India, reprinted from the International Labour Review, V. Montreal International Labour Office, 1944.

Mellon, H. J. Credit Control, a Study of the Genesis of the Qualitative Approach to Credit Problem. Introduction by Prof. B. H. Beakheart, Washington, American Council of Public Affairs, 1941.

Brierly, J. L. (The) Outlook for International Law, Oxford, Clarendom Press, 1944.

(The) Purposes of Examinations, a symposium with an introductory survey by Sir Philip Hartog. Reprinted from the Year Book of Education, London, Evans Brothers.

Lorenz, Robert. (The) Essential Features of Germany's Agricultural Policy from 1870 to 1937. N.Y., Columbia Universty, 1941.

Prakasa, Apurva. (The) Fountain of Indian Art. And Archaeology, Lucknow, Oriental Art Press, 1942.

Rath, R. J. (The) Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1814). N. Y., Columbia University, 1941.

Alexander, Horace. India since Cripps (England, Penguin Books, 1944).

* * *

SIR GOOROODASS PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

The Senate has appointed Dr. Mohinimohon Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Reader in the Department of English, University of Calcutta, as Sir Gooroodass Banerjee Professor of English, University of Calcutta. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Bhattacharyya.

* * *

A MUNIFICENT DONATION

As reported in the September, 1945 Issue of the Calcutta Review a sum of Rs. 2.00,000 (two lakhs) has been placed at the disposal of the University by Messrs. M.M. Sur and R. Sur of Messrs. Sur Enamel and Stamping Works, Ltd., Calcutta, for the cultivation and advancement of fundamental research in Pure Physics,—with special reference to Nuclear Physics—and the Senate has accepted the offer with thanks.

At the Senate Meeting held on the 15th of September, 1945, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, while referring to this magnificent donation, said that one of the brothers, Mr. M. M Sur, was an ex-student of the Department of Physics in the University College of Science and had been a pupil of Dr. Meghnad Saha. It was through the efforts of Dr. Meghnad Saha and of Dr. S. K. Sur, Superintendent, Meteorological Department, Poona, that they had been fortunate enough to receive the endowment. It was extremely gratifying that one of their ex-students, who had become a well-known industrialist, should have come out generously and created such a splendid endowment for the advancement of Science at his *Alma Mater*. Dr. Mookerjee then remarked humorously that he believed Nuclear Physics had something to do with the Atomic Bomb and he hoped that one day Prof. Meghnad Saha would bring out an Atomic Bomb for India—for the defence of an independent India. In conclusion, Dr. Mookerjee hoped that the Sur Brothers' generous example would be followed by the other industrialists in Bengal.

* * *

PROF. J. N. MUKHERJEE

We offer our congratulations to Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, Ghosh Professor of Chemistry, Calcutta University, on his appointment as Director of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, New Delhi. The University has permitted Dr. J. N. Mukherjee to accept this appointment and had allowed him a lien of 2 years. At the Senate Meeting held on September 15, 1945, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee referring to Dr. J. N. Mukherjee's new appointment said that what would be a loss to Calcutta University or to the Province of Bengal would be a gain to scientific agriculture for the whole of India.

* * *

RAMANANDA LECTURER IN JOURNALISM

St. Nihal Singh, the veteran journalist and publicist, has been appointed Ramananda Lecturer for 1945. The subject of his lectures will be "Freedom of the Press in India."

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Circular No. S/381/S.N.

It is hereby notified for general information that girls offering Sewing and Needle-work at the Matriculation Examination must produce a certificate signed by the Head Mistress of the institution concerned, showing that they have followed a graded course as defined in the syllabus for the Lady Brabourne Needle-work Diploma from Class IV onward.

Private candidates offering the above subject at the Matriculation Examination must produce Lady Brabourne Preliminary and Intermediate Needle-work Diploma.

Senate House,
The 28th August, 1945.

J. CHAKRAVORTI,
Registrar.

NOTICE

Law Examinations

The next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law will commence on Monday, the 7th January, 1946. The last date fixed for the submission of applications and fees to the undersigned for admission to the examinations is Friday, the 7th December, 1945.

N. B.—Applications and fees must be submitted together. A delay fee of Rs. 5 only will be charged for each fee or application received after the last date.

Senate House,
The 7th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

DATES OF EXAMINATIONS

The next Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc., L.T., B.T. and B.Com. Examinations will commence on the following dates. The last dates for the submission of applications and fees to the University for admission to the examinations are also given below against each :—

	Examinations.		Date of commencement.		Last date of submission of applications and fees.
1.	I.A. and I.Sc.	...	Wednesday, 13th February, 1946	...	Monday, 7th January, 1946.
2.	Matriculation	...	Monday, 18th March, 1946.	...	Monday, 14th January, 1946.
3.	B.A. and B.Sc.	...	Tuesday, 26th March, 1946	...	Monday, 11th February, 1946.
4.	L.T and B.T.	...	Monday, 15th April, 1946	...	Monday, 4th March, 1946.
5.	B.Com.	...	Monday, 6th May, 1946	...	Friday, 22nd March, 1946.

N.B.—Applications and fees must be submitted together. A delay fee of Rs. 5 only will be charged for each fee or application received after the last date.

Senate House,
The 14th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

NOTICE.

I. In addition to the candidates, whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, June, 1945, as having passed the I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, 1945, the following candidates are also declared to have passed the I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, held in February, 1945 :—

I.A. Examination, 1945

(FIRST DIVISION)

635. { Bandyopadhyay, Anilkumar (S) (Kalna College).
{ Bhattacharyya, Narayanchandra (Vidyasagar College).

SECOND DIVISION

Minnalal Bararia (Non-collegiate student, Scottish Church College).
Nesar Ahmed, II (Islamia College).

THIRD DIVISION

Das, Eva Santona (Non-collegiate student, Jorhat J. B. College).
Rauth, Anuva (Non-collegiate student).

I.Sc. Examination, 1945

FIRST DIVISION

249. Chattopadhyay, Asokkumar (Chandernagore Dupleix College).

II. In addition to the candidates whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, May, 1945, as having passed the Special Intermediate Examination in Biology, held in February, 1945, the following candidate is also declared to have passed the Special Intermediate Examination in Biology :—

Passed

Chanda, Saurindranath (Bangabasi College).

Senate House,
The 15th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

(As adopted by the Senate, on 12th May, 1945)

Notification No. Misc. R. 2.

It is hereby notified for general information that the insertion of the following new Chapter, *viz.*, Chapter XXXVII-C, Diploma in Social Work (Labour Welfare) after Chapter XXXVII-B of the Calcutta University Regulations has been sanctioned by Government :

CHAPTER XXXVII-C

Diploma in Social Work (Labour Welfare)

1. An examination for a Diploma in Social Work shall be held in Calcutta on such date as the Syndicate may determine from time to time on the recommendation of the Social Work Committee.

2. Any candidate who has passed an examination for a Bachelor's Degree in any Faculty of this University or who is accepted by the Social Work Committee on the ground that he has worked for at least a period of one year as Labour Welfare Officer in approved institutions, associations or firms employing labour, may be admitted to the examination for the Diploma in Social Work, provided he has prosecuted a regular course of study for one academic year or such shorter period as may be determined by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Social Work Committee provided for in Section 3 below and has undergone a practical training in an industrial area or areas or labour welfare centres.

3. There shall be a Social Work Committee to be nominated by the Syndicate every two years, and the constitution of the Committee will be determined by the Syndicate from time to time.

4. Every candidate for admission to the examination shall send his application to the Controller of Examinations with a certificate in the form prescribed by the Social Work Committee and a fee of Rs. 60, not less than three weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

5. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for the examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of a like fee of Rs. 60 on each occasion.

If a student, after completion of the regular course of study for the examination, does not register himself as a candidate for, or does not present himself at, or fails to pass, the examination immediately succeeding such completion, he may appear at any of the two following examinations on payment of the prescribed fee only. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study as required under Sec. 2 above.

6. If a candidate is unsuccessful at the examination on account of his failure to secure pass marks in one written paper only, but obtains 50 per cent. marks in aggregate in other papers, he may appear for re-examination in the written paper in which he has failed on payment of a fee of Rs. 30 at the next examination and if he obtains 50 per cent. of marks in that paper at the re-examination, he will be declared to have passed the examination as a whole.

7. The examination shall be written and oral and shall be conducted on the lines of the syllabus defined below. The examiners shall be appointed by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Social Work Committee.

8. The written examination shall consist of six papers and the oral examination of four papers, of 100 marks each.

In order to pass, a candidate must obtain 40 per cent. of marks in each paper and 50 per cent. of marks in the aggregate. Candidates obtaining 60 per cent. of marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the First Class, and those obtaining 50 per cent. or more in the Second Class.

9. As soon as possible after the examination the Syndicate shall publish a list of candidates who have passed, arranged in two classes, both in order of merit. Names of candidates who pass the examination under Sec. 6 above shall be published separately, arranged in alphabetical order without any class. Every successful candidate shall receive a Diploma in the form entered in the Appendix.

10. The following syllabus defines the limits of the subjects prescribed for the examination. This syllabus may be revised by the Syndicate from time to time on the recommendation of the Social Work Committee. Books to be read for the course shall be prescribed or recommended when necessary by the Social Work Committee.

Courses of Instruction

SOCIAL WORK COURSE

(Labour Welfare)

I. SOCIOLOGY

Family and Marriage in primitive society Evolution of Monogamy, Types of family, Patriarchal and Matriarchal families; the Joint or un-divided family. Wider groupings, Clan. Tribe and Nation. Functions of the family in relation to the wider groupings. The place of the family in society. Family a universal unit in human society, family feeling a true root-interest (the futility of types of idealism which seeks to destroy family feeling). The child and the family, rights and obligations of family members.

Property. Primitive communism; the character and extent of primitive communism. Ownership by family or group rather than real communism. Notion of private property not absent. Private property—Justification of private property and development of personality. Occupational groupings: Class and Caste. Development of authority through the family, the clan and tribe. The emergence of nation-states with regular governmental machinery. The basis of community, the place of force and consent; conditions governing life of communities; mutual need crossed by mutual pressure and constraint. Rights and Duties of individuals *vis-a-vis* the community.

N.B.—Emphasis will be laid on the study of Social institutions and conditions as they are in India with special reference to the particular area in which the Labour Officers may have to work.

II. APPLIED ECONOMICS

(*a*) (*i*) Industry in India with particular reference to the development, present position and problems of the Coal, Iron and Steel, Cotton textile and Jute industries.

(*ii*) Taxation—its effects on employers and employees.

(*b*) The worker in industry—survey of the condition of the worker.

(*i*) Europe and America: General historical survey; cottage industries before the industrial revolutions; the industrial revolutions; Urbanisation; the emergence of the industrial proletariat; survey of the conditions of workers in the course of evolution of industries.

(*ii*) India: Survey of India's Industrial population, origins, the movement to the towns, links with the village and agricultural community, seasonal, movements of labour, social problems caused by conditions in urban areas, emergence of a truly urban industrial population.

(*c*) Factory Labour Organisation—a comparative study of methods of recruitment, training, management, rationalisation and wages.

Methods of recruitment—the *Sirdary* system, methods, training, development of apprenticeship system, skilled personnel, wage system here and in the West, scientific management and efficiency, methods of payment, minimum wage regulation, rationalisation and problems of labour management.

(*d*) Labour Legislation—Economic aspects of legislation on industries and industrial workers.

(*i*) Historical background—Europe, America, India, developments in Western countries; the place of the International Labour Organisation, its constitution, functions, ideas. The worker's charter; how present-day developments in War—President Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' for instance—affect the position; likely trends in India.

(*ii*) India's position—particularly, history of labour legislation in India, main defects and gaps as compared with Western countries, dangers in rigid adherence to Western practices in legislation as only methods of applying accepted principles to labour in this country, labour and constitution, the place of the Central and Local Governments in legislation, consequences of divergencies in standards through unfettered discretion of provinces to legislate, study of recent trends in Federal Control or rigid establishments of standards in labour legislation.

(*e*) Social Welfare Work in factories.

Apart from a detailed appreciation of the trends elsewhere in this work, the main part of this field of study will be practical; it might, however, be possible to develop certain definite lines of research as best suited to conditions in different industries, namely:

(*i*) Desirability of savings banks, consumers' co-operative societies, etc.
(*ii*) Necessity of State, employers' and employees' co-operation in Labour Welfare Work with a view to eliminating the notions of class differences.
(*iii*) Realisation of employers' difficulties.
(*iv*) Evils of drinking, gambling, etc.
(*v*) Need of educating the workers and their children.
(*vi*) Need of Labour Welfare Reserve Fund.
(*f*) Workers' and Employers' Organisation.

The Trade Union movement in the West: origins, types of unions, U. S. A. position; the problem in India; factual survey; the Trade Union and employers.

(*g*) Social insurance and group insurance, its nature, extent and principles with special reference to industrial workers in India, including the recent developments in India and foreign countries.

III. LAWS RELATING TO INDUSTRIES

(1) Powers of the Central and Provincial Governments in the matter of framing legislations affecting Industry and Labour, (2) Labour Legislation, (3) Principles of Law, (4) Indian Factories Act, (5) Indian Trade Unions Act, (6) Indian Trade Disputes Act, (7) Payment of Wages Act, (8) Workmen's Compensation Act, (9) The Employment of Children (Workshop) Rules, 1940, (10) Bengal Maternity Benefit Act and Maternity Benefit Rules, 1940, and such other Acts as may be hereafter passed.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

MATHEMATICS

he Khandakhadyaka with Prithudaka's Commentary, Edited by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 170. 1941. Rs. 2-8.

Caturveda Prithudaka Svamin's commentary on the text is a valuable work on Hindu stronomy. It reveals important points in the history of Indian Mthematics and Astroomy, more especially on the use of the Decimal system of notation with the symbol for ero in Arithmetical operations. The whole book is printed in Devnagri types.

he Science of the Sulva (A study in early Hindu Geometry), by Bibhutibhushan Datta, D.Sc. Demy 8vo. pp. 262. Rs. 3-0.

urya-Siddhanta (a text-book of Hindu Astronomy), translated by Rev. Ebenezer Burges with Notes and an Appendix. Reprinted from the edition of 1860. Edited by Phanindralal Gangooly, M.A., B.L., and with an introduction by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 474. Rs. 7-0.

ncient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 60. Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Iannah in the domain of Chronology and Computation of Time in Ancient Egypt, as well s other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.

XI. SCIENCE

SCIENCE

ournal of the Department of Science (Ten volumes published). Each vol. up to Vol. X, Rs. 4-8.

ournal of the Department of Science (New Series) (numbers 1-4 of Vol. I published). Each number Rs. 2-0.

ir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Vol. II, Science. Royal 8vo. pp. 484. Rs. 11-4. (For contents see pages 153-157.)

1. PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

Progress of Physics, by A. Schuster, D.Sc. Demy 8vo. pp. 174. Rs. 3-15

It traces the changes due to the sequence of discoveries in the domain of Physical ciences during 1875-1908.

Theory of Electro-Magnetism, by G. J. Walker M. A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Demy 8vo. pp. 60. 3-6.

Slightly damaged copies at reduced price Rs. 2-0.

The book puts some of the most important developments of electro-magnetic theory to a connected and convenient form.

Optical Theories, by D. N. Mallik, B.A., Sc.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 191. Rs. 8-1.

The book traces the development of optical theories from the earliest times to the esent day. Its subject-matter being the one great general problem of modern Physics, will be really helpful to understand the relation between the different theories, so that ie may be clear as to how much is known for certain and how much is mere speculation.

The Principle of Relativity, by M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., and S. N. Bose. M.Sc. (with a Historical Introduction by P. C. Mahalanobis). Demy 8vo. pp. 248. Rs. 4-8. English rendering of the original papers by A. Einstein and H. Minkowski.

* The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press etter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies of the ok may be had of the firm.

† The sale of the book is restricted within India.

Molecular Diffraction of Light, by Sir C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., N.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 113. Rs. 3-0.

In this book the author discusses the classical theory of the molecular scattering of light in all refractive media, including in a comprehensive survey, the case of gases, vapours, liquids, crystals, and amorphous solids.

Lectures on Wave Mechanics, by Prof. A. Sommerfeld, D.Sc., F.R.S. D/C. 16mo. pp. 128. Rs. 2-0.

Organic Theo-compounds, by Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 74. Re. 1-8.

2. BOTANY

Vanaspati (Hindu Knowledge of Botany and its application to the Sciences of Medicine and Agriculture, Griffith Memorial Prize Essay for 1925), by Girijaprasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 274. Rs. 3-12.

The work has been divided into three parts:—

Book I—Botany and Philosophic Speculations.

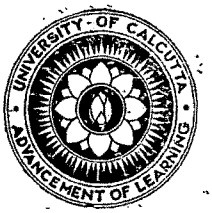
,, II—Botany and Science of Medicine.

,, III—Botany and Science of Agriculture.

" .....The information culled and presented in a systematic and readable form by the author shows how close and accurate was the study of the many phases of Plant-life even at that remote period though necessarily fragmentary and in many cases speculative .....Even as such many of the ideas bear a remarkably modern outlook."—Journal, Indian Botanical Society, viii, 1929.

" This book, based on all available Sanskrit literature, gives the status of plant knowledge in ancient India. It includes many quotations (in Sanskrit and translated into English) of references to morphology, physiology, ecology, taxonomy and evolution—there are many passages that indicate a fair knowledge of fundamental principles. Social emphasis is placed on the use of plants in medicine and agriculture, both of which arts were fairly well developed."—Biological Abstracts (U.S.A.), iv. 1930.

" The essay embodies not merely a collection of fragments of early speculation on plant-life but a critical survey of the botanical knowledge of the Hindus and its application to Medicine and Agriculture, in the search-light of modern science. The author has, with the grasp of a trained botanist, succeeded in marshalling evidence to show clear indications of possession by the ancient Hindus of such knowledge of plant-life as prognosticate the dawn of science."—Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis.



THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1945

EDUCATION OF INDIANS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

DR. TARAKNATH DAS AND GOBINDRAM J. WATUMULL

AT the very outset we wish to emphasize that since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the early nineteenth century up to the present time, leadership in Indian political, social and industrial life has been wielded primarily by men and women of India who have had their education in western countries or assimilated the spirit of western culture, without ignoring the rich legacy of India. There is no question that modernisation of India, nay of the East, will be greatly facilitated by the assimilation and utilisation of the best of western scientific, industrial and social institutions by India and the East, without merely copying them. The question that is receiving considerable attention in India today is the process by which the modernisation of India might be most quickly effected. Without being dogmatic or claiming to give a full and comprehensive answer to this question, we shall try to discuss some phase of the subject of Education of Indians in foreign countries and its relation to increasing national efficiency with the least possible expense and waste. We are well aware that these conclusions will arouse some lively discussions and disagreements. But our satisfaction comes from knowing that there will be intelligent discussions which will be helpful to all who are sincerely interested in pursuing many-sided activities to further the cause of Indian national efficiency through Education.

I

Among the peoples of Eastern Asia, the Japanese were the first to send young men to foreign countries with the conscious recognition of the fact that western countries were more powerful and had better methods of scientific education which they should master in order to preserve their national existence as a free people and to develop their industry and commerce to hold their own in these fields in competition with western powers. The Chinese and Indians did not try to learn all that is best in western countries voluntarily,

before they were conquered and humiliated by western powers. It took nearly half a century of hard and humiliating experience on the part of Indians and Chinese before they began to accept the fact that in order to survive they must learn many things from the West. In some ways the westernization of China and India has been forced upon them while Japan voluntarily recognized the necessity of western education and western methods. In Japan westernization was not imposed from the outside and therefore the process was selective and more discriminating than has been in the case of India and China.

Today all Indian authorities in the field of National Education recognize the fact that the real motive for introducing the rudiments of English education in India was to train an army of Indian officials, who, with a knowledge of the English language, would be able to hold inferior government positions and thus help the British masters to consolidate their power. The real rulers were British officials, even after Queen Victoria's proclamation which assured that there would be no discrimination, due to their race and religion, against Indians, in securing positions in the government of their own country, provided they proved their efficiency. The test of this efficiency was an English education and the ability to pass the Civil Service Examinations, held exclusively in England and with certain high standards set for British University students. It became evident to Indian youths with ambition that without an education in England there was no possibility of securing any high government position; thus about seventy-five years ago Indian students from the most cultured families of the upper and upper-middle classes began to go to England to study in British universities. At first these students, though not a very large number, wanted to qualify for Indian Civil Service positions; and such distinguished scholars and statesmen as the late Romesh Chandra Dutt, the author of *History of Indian Civilization*; the late Surendranath Banerjea, the foremost Indian publicist of the nineteenth century and author of *A Nation in the Making*, one of the founders of the All-India National Congress Movement, and many other prominent Indians belonged to this group. Later on a larger number of Indian students went to England for professional training—the majority of them studied Law. From this group India had many of the leaders of the nationalist movement—Arabindo Ghosh, Gandhi, Nehru, Das, Bose and others. Still later, the influx of Indian students of the middle classes to England grew, not only because education acquired in England was superior to that obtainable in India, but also because Indians educated in British universities and acquainted with British ways of life and British contacts almost always secured better jobs with higher salaries upon their return to India. About the beginning of the twentieth century some Indian students began to go to German universities and after the Russo-Japanese war, to Japan and the United States. It may be mentioned here that Indians educated in Japan, the United States or Germany did not have a fair chance of getting any important government position. In fact, they were looked upon with suspicion and discriminated against by the Government—an ordinary B.A. of a British University had a better chance of getting a position in a British-controlled university or establishment than a first-class Ph.D. of an American University. This prejudice still persists to some extent and has resulted in the interesting development that American-trained Indians have contributed considerably through their own and private enterprise to the development of Indian industries.

II

According to reliable reports "in normal pre-war years the average number of Indian students in any time in Great Britain was about 2,000." (See *Indian Information*, Vol. 15, No. 151, December 15, 1944, issued by the Principal Information Officer, Government of India, page 794.)

If the average expense of an Indian student in England be estimated at about £250 (Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling) a year, then these students must have spent annually at least £500,000, or Rs. 7,500,000 (Seventy-five Lakhs of Rupees). If this sum—of one year's expenditure by Indian students in England—be used judiciously and economically, it can be adequate for establishing an institution of higher education in India. For instance, out of 75 lakhs of rupees, twenty-five lakhs of rupees may be used for the building and equipment of such an institution, and the balance, 50 lakhs of rupees, can be invested in well-tested Indian securities which would yield an annual income of at least 2½ lakhs of rupees. This income supplemented by tuition fees would provide for a staff of 50 professors and instructors of all grades. Such an institution within ten years can be developed into a magnificent one, providing facilities for higher education for thousands of Indians, without draining Indian resources out to foreign lands.

During the last 40 years at least 10,000 Indian students went to England to acquire such education as would afford opportunities for good government jobs and professional opportunities. On the average, these students spent three years to finish their studies in England; and on the average, they spent £250 (Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds) a year. Thus, the total amount spent by Indian students in England during the twentieth century has been no less than £7,500,000 or Rs. 112,500,000. If we use 75 lakhs of rupees as a minimum requirement for establishing an institution for higher education on a permanent basis, as indicated above, then the sum spent in England for the so-called higher education of Indian students would have provided funds for the establishment of fifteen universities and facilities for higher education of hundreds of thousands of Indians, enriching Indian national efficiency. It seems that as a national investment for promoting national efficiency through higher education the vast sum spent in England has produced very inadequate results. It seems that this fact has not been fully grasped by Indian leaders, not to speak of the Government, as they are still pursuing a policy of sending large numbers of Indian students to foreign countries.

III

For promoting the efficiency and national vitality of a nation, it is very essential that there should be adequate facilities for scientific education which will increase the productive power of the nation and raise the standard of living of the masses. The Indian educational system, as established and maintained by the British Indian Government and about which many Anglo-Indians and well-intentioned but ill-informed foreigners speak so highly, has been woefully inadequate for the purpose of promoting national well-being. No less a person than Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, during his speech before the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 14, 1944, while advocating the necessity of training a large number of technicians to improve the Indian economic situation, said:

"One direction, however, in which it seems to me that we can make progress at once, without waiting for peace or for blue-prints is in training many technicians and experts India will require in farming, in engineering, in electricity, in chemistry, in fisheries, in building and so forth. *It has been very patently brought home to me even in a year's experience as Viceroy, how woefully short India is not only in institutions and facilities for training them.* I hope that Young India will apply its abilities and energies towards these practical branches which will be of such value to India; and possibly to little less to the profession of the law, in which India, I understand, is already quite reasonably well staffed . . ." (*Indian Information*, Vol. 16, No. 152, January 15, 1945).

The Hon. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, one of the formulators of the "Bombay Plan" (whose prime object is to remove the dire poverty under which the country is groaning; to raise the purchasing power of the people and to treble the national income during a period of 15 years) and Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, in an All India Radio broadcast from Delhi on December 16, 1944, speaking of the great need of industrialization in India, said among other things:

"Without industries, no country can ever hope to attain prosperity or high stage of civilization. Without industries it cannot acquire wealth which is necessary to provide the various social amenities, such as decent housing, medical relief, education, etc. The last war showed and the present war has emphasized the fact, that no country, which is not highly developed industrially, has a political future. It cannot achieve independence, and if achieved, cannot hope to retain it without a high industrial potential which is convertible to war potential in an emergency. Until India is fully and thoroughly industrialised, there is no hope of its economic salvation and, I am inclined to believe, also of its political salvation."

He further added:

"A number of preliminary measures, such as the training of technical and other personnel which will be required in hundreds of thousands, must be begun at once. Our educational, scientific and technological institutions should be expanded and new ones created. A beginning should be made with proper exploitation of our mineral and power resources. Our Geological Survey requires to be immediately and largely expanded. . . ."

To carry out this programme of immediately training technicians, it has been announced by the Government of India that during this year more than 600 Indian students will be sent to Great Britain and the United States by the Central and Provincial Governments of India. There is no doubt that more than 300 Indian students will be sent by government agencies of India to American universities and technical institutions for the year 1945-46. We have no definite information regarding the details of this programme, except that an Indian Education Officer has been sent to the United States to make the necessary arrangements for the admission of these students. It is also told by responsible persons that there is some possibility that for the coming ten years the Government of India would spend more than a million dollars a year to train Indian students in the United States. Larger sums will also be spent in England for the same purpose. Thus the Government of India, *i.e.*, Indian tax-payers, will spend more than $25,000,000 (twenty-five million dollars) in foreign countries for higher education of Indians during the coming few years. Several thousand young Indians will be in foreign countries and get the very best type of education which will have its effect in the development of Indian national efficiency. But it must be noted that the programme of sending hundreds of Indian students annually to foreign countries who upon their return to India will largely depend upon government jobs, if not supplemented by a definite programme of increasing the efficiency of existing Indian universities and institutions of higher education, is neither economical in the long run nor in the best interests of higher education, which must develop to meet the demand of raising the national efficiency.

IV

Thus there are definite indications that during the coming years large numbers of Indian students, subsidised by the Government of India, will be leaving for England and the United States. In this connection, it is our hope that the exodus of immature and unqualified Indian students to Great Britain and the United States or any other country will be prevented or at least effectively discouraged. This is the correct view of the Education Department of the

Indian High Commissioner's Office in London, expressed in the report for 1940-41. This conclusion is based upon the following reasons:

"Many (Indian students) who go to England," the report adds, "lack the qualifications, ability and steadfastness to benefit from University or similar education in the United Kingdom or in India. Others who are fitted in the sense of possessing the initial qualifications for admission to academic or other training there could obtain suitable courses in India at less expense. Others again are allowed to leave India apparently with little or no idea of the exact purpose in mind or of the advantage or utility of the proposed study or training and its reasonable prospect of leading, when completed, to suitable employment, and only too often without adequate counting of the cost. *There are those too, who come provided with not too little but too much money, and who, free from paternal influence and control, are too liable to fall into idle or even dissolute ways.*" (See the article "Indian Students in Great Britain" in *Indian Information*, Vol. 15, No. 151, December 15, 1944, page 794.)

This warning is equally applicable to prospective Indian students in American universities. Some of the Indian students with M.Sc. degrees, who are now studying in some of the American universities, find that instead of finishing their studies within an academic year they need to devote at least two years, because the standard of American technical institutions is much higher than that of similar institutions in India and it is not as easy to get higher degrees from American universities as many British-university trained Indian officials and educators erroneously think. Only the very best type of well-qualified Indian students should come to American universities to carry on higher studies.

V

By merely sending students to foreign countries, a nation does not develop its industries or technological institutions. India's past experience is the best example. For instance, to develop the Indian Steel Industry, the late Jamshedji Tata used foreign experts to start the Industry and simultaneously took steps to train Indian experts in India and in foreign lands, and later on developed a Technical Institution, which is possibly one of the best in Asia, to train experts needed for the industry. (For details see "A Steel Man in India" by Keenan.) Soviet Russia, to carry out its vast industrial development programme, used foreign experts and developed its technical institutions on a large scale. It is needless to emphasize that if India is to hold her own in the field of industry and commerce and technical education, then the Indian people will have to create adequate facilities for higher technical and scientific education in their own country. In this task the Government and industrialists have a very definite responsibility. They will have to provide means to use Indian technicians in evergrowing industrial plants and national enterprises.

In this connection it may be emphasized that Indian industries must set aside a certain percentage of their gross income for the purpose of carrying on research. Indian industries should learn from the experiences of American industries—such as the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the United States Steel Company, the United States Rubber Company, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Du Ponts and the Eastman Kodak and many other concerns.

Let us give a few instances of recent examples of the development of research programmes of American industries and universities : (*a*) The General Electric Company has decided to spend $8,000,000 to build a new Research Laboratory which will afford fifty per cent. more space than the present facilities provided by the two buildings now occupied by the Laboratory which were built

in 1914 and 1922. Dr. Suits, Vice-President and Director of Research of General Electric writes that "These laboratories were the last word in laboratory construction then: this is no longer true. For some time we have been cramped for space and this condition has been aggravated in the past few years when all our facilities have been devoted to war work. *We have a very much expanded programme for post-war years which will increase our research staff from 540 to about 800.*" (General Electric News—Schenectady, N. Y., June 1, 1945.)

The following items of information regarding research activities of a few institutions in the United States were published in a recent issue of the "New York Times":

"Many educational institutions are now participating in the field of commercial research. The Battelle Memorial Institute in Ohio State, employing a research staff of 600 last year, worked on contracts totalling approximately $2,500,000. Cornell University has more than 300 commercial investigations under way at present in applied and pure science and many applications are to be denied.

"Nearly 200 industrial concerns of the Industrial Hygiene Association are backing a research project at Mellon Institute, Pittsburgh. The X-ray laboratories at the University of Rochester serve industries within a 100-mile radius.

"Purdue's Research Foundation incorporated in 1930, with assets of $50,000, has grown to a scientific research service with assets of $3,000,000. Significant focal centres of constructive research at Purdue in recent years are the university airport and the housing research campus. The University of Minnesota has approximately 160 research projects operating at present, totalling some $274,000.

"The University of Texas has received nearly $500,000 from commercial concerns since 1939 for research purposes, some of which had not yet been spent because of staff limitations. Largest of the current grants, now totalling $186,000, is to continue investigations on the Schoch process of making acetylene from natural gas by the electric discharge method. . . ."

In this connection, may we inquire what have been the concrete contributions of Indian industries towards the development of higher education and technical research? Have the Indian industrialists done their best in this field while they have acquired fortunes by selling their products to the Indian people? Have they done their share to raise the standard of living of the poor of India?

VI

The programme for raising the standard of Indian universities and the development of research facilities in these institutions is of greater importance than sending hundreds of Indian students to study in foreign universities. There is every reason to believe that if every year the Government of India sends only a few—fifty or so—of the most promising young members of the faculties of various Indian universities for higher studies, with the specific purpose of equipping them with greater efficiency in their own fields of studies and then spends larger sums in developing existing Indian universities and establishing new institutions to meet national needs, such a programme will be more economical and effective.

In this connection we are very happy to note the news item published in the "Calcutta Review" to the effect that Dr. N. R. Dhar has contributed a lakh of rupees to the Calcutta University, to perpetuate the memory of the late Acharya

P. C. Ray, by establishing a chair of Agricultural Chemistry. This may well begin the development of an Agricultural College in connection with Calcutta University. This is in the long run a more effective investment for the purpose of spreading agricultural education in India than sending half a dozen Indian students to study Agriculture in American universities which would cost at least a lakh of rupees.

For the development of facilities for higher education in India, the Central and Provincial governments of India and Indian industrialists and rich people should contribute large sums of money to the universities. Annually tens of millions of dollars are contributed to American universities by private individuals. Such contributions are usually announced during commencement-week ceremonies. On June 23, 1945, the following took place in Cambridge, Massachusetts:

"A gift of $350,000 to endow a professorship in the field of industrial management at Massachusetts Institute of Technology was presented tonight by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Chairman of the board of General Motors Corporation, at a dinner of alumni of M. I. T. held as part of the commencement-week program.

"At the same time President Karl Taylor Compton announced a gift of $100,000 from Gerard Swope, former president of the General Electric Company, to endow a group of post-graduate fellowships. Both Mr. Sloan and Mr. Swope are members of the Technology fifty-year class of 1895. In summarizing donations to the Institute for the last twelve months, Dr. Compton reported a total of nearly $2,000,000."

Strong alumni organizations should be formed in every Indian university for the express purpose of raising funds to improve the university and to develop its research and laboratory facilities. In Britain the recent trend is toward larger appropriations to the universities by the Government:

"The British Government has increased its appropriation to the University Grants Committee from the former annual allotment of £2,149,000 to £5,900,000 for each of the next two years." (*News Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 1, 1945, published by the Institute of International Education.)

The population of Britain is about one-tenth of that of India. Indian national efficiency in higher education and technology may be one-tenth of Britain. Indian educational institutions should have larger grants of funds than that are being spent by British universities. But the British Government in India does not appropriate for higher education in the whole of India a sum equal to that spent by Columbia University of New York. This must not be forgotten by Indian statesmen interested in promoting national efficiency.

What is needed to increase national efficiency through higher education is to secure adequate sums—at least several million pounds sterling for several years, as grants-in-aid from the Provincial and Central governments of India, rich businessmen and industrialists, princes and others, for institutions of higher education *in India* to transform them into the best institutions of higher education in the world. To increase the efficiency of the professors of these institutions, only a selected number of the most promising young scholars should be sent to foreign universities, not to seek higher degrees, but to carry on researches and investigations, to enrich their experience and knowledge, so that they will be able to develop Indian universities into the most effective agencies for imparting higher education to the people of India and for increasing indian national efficiency.

THE STUDY OF MYTHS

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IN these positivist days the problem of myths may appear very remote from the spirit of the time. Yet such an attitude would be indeed superficial. For if mythology is a flaming spark from the anvil of primitive mind and society, it is not that our own age is entirely lacking in the fire and smoke, the *sturm und drang*, of untenable, grotesque theories and attitudes towards life.

Quite otherwise in its earlier stages mythology "is still organically connected with society, penetrating its every core." Hence its importance for all anthropological studies. Like Father William myths have been young and waking while their deadening into dogmas in later times is itself a live problem and raises numerous issues about social and individual harmony. These issues are, I am afraid, far too complicated but never really romote. For instance, the study of myths raises the problem of belief, certainly one of the most disturbing posers to the modern mind.

What is a myth? That is the first obstacle we have got to get over. Unfortunately, a strict definition is out of court. A myth for our present limited purposes may be equivalent to Tales of Gods and Tales of the Past. There is no doubt that in saying so I am extending the use of the term unduly and am guilty of creating some confusion. But let that pass. Just now I have stated that myths are Tales of the Gods and Tales of the Past. Let the dead past bury its dead . . . . says the man of common sense. Why should we, the living, be pestered with these old far-off things? Precisely because these old far-off things are the autobiography of the childhood of the human race itself.

In considering the benefits of a study of mythology we notice at once that myths form and embody the cryptic history of some of the most valuable elements in our tradition (Latin, that which is handed down). Before the spread of writing this tradition had naturally been confined to oral transmission. In our memory and imagination, "mixing memory and desire," the past of the tribe was clothed in a vivid and heroic life. "The function of myth," "according to Malinowski," "is to strengthen tradition and to endow it with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of ancient events." Incidentally, these myths must have been an excellent system of memory training. Further, this oral transmission is not altogether to be discounted. It is often true and accurate. We cannot ignore its value, especially when many of these myths help us in piecing together our scanty knowledge of the otherwise unrecorded prehistoric times. On this point of the historic utility of myths I shall give some examples later on.

Another immediate advantage in studying myths and the mythic systems is its especial value to the eager reformers and revolutionaries in social forms and institutions. Any change in man and society, if it is to last and be desirable, must be preceded by a full knowledge of the *status quo*, of things as they are and as they have been. Nothing offers such a good chance to study man's mental past, his endless attempts at rationalising social customs and rituals, as these myths do. In them the mass psychology, to use a current expression, of the ages is recorded. Of the growth of mind they are the blue books and the Encyclopaedia rolled in one. The hypocrisies of the Haves, for instance, has no better, no more unforgettable souvenir. Here is that most charming of aristocrats, Plato, consciously manufacturing a myth of inequality. After talking of the ideal education for the rulers, the philosopher-kings, he turns to the problem of how the masses should be taught and induced to obey these ideally trained rulers. The mass, says Plato, must be taught a myth of inequality. God has made the guardians of gold, the auxiliaries of silver and the masses of

copper. The masses must loyally recognise the rule of the best element. (*Republic*, Book III.)

The world of myths is an open scroll for all of us to read and benefit from. In them the language of the blood speaks, in fear, in joy, in adoration, in all that *homo sapiens* is heir to. It is true all the same that myths are a heritage of rather mixed and dubious quality. We have to shift carefully the wheat from the chaff. Whether one likes them or not, whether myths can stand modern historical criticism, whether medical and economic determinism will explain away these a-rational superstructures to limbo or not, it is certain that they must have originally satisfied some primal needs of man's total nature. Else, their survival cannot be fully accounted for. Myths did serve a valuable function in the past. Properly utilised they can be made to serve an equally useful function once more. This mighty body of archetypes, this language of the racial unconsciousness, handled with tact and wisdom, can yet do immense good to us. They certainly have not outlived their usefulness. In their central figures, their deified heroes, as well as in the moral conflicts dramatically enshrined in so many of the highly evolved religions—they have left us the image of a useful friend philosopher and guide for all time. The myth of Kurukshetra, and more particularly the Bhagavad Gita, lives even to-day because all living is a Kurkshetra that calls forth man's total reactions. It vivifies and strengthens the mind and is deservedly a Hindu classic. The Odyssey lives, since all life is a journey. The *dramatis personae* of the more highly evolved mythic systems offer us the images of super-ego, with ideals on which we may base our life and conduct. Purely from the educational standpoint these ideals, sanctioned by the consent of the centuries and the wisdom of the race mind, are patterns that deserve, if not solicit, trials. The bovaryism " of man can be aptly canalised in this direction." Hamlet and Werther, Robinson Crusoe and Aloysha Karamazov, Juliet and Lady Chatterly, Sita and Savitri, are instances of fictional, shall we say mythical, heroes and heroines on whom a vast number of human beings have modelled themselves. They will again spring to life as soon as the creative imagination blows over them. The educative value of myths is thus not negligible. They are the fuse which contact the individual with the racial mind but they, of course, require careful modifications before they can be profitably imitated in contemporary life. Otherwise an atavism or an anachronism might very easily result.

The religious interest of myths has often been held as prominent. Without necessarily agreeing with this view *in toto* we find that the mythic systems usually form a body of rationalisations for that practical activity known as ritual. Working mainly, as they do, as explanations, myths are probably a " secondary accretion." They are the theory of religion, and being theoretical they are not related to the origin of religions. Yet their importance in studying the history of ideas of our race is supreme. The development of religious myths is a valuable study in human evolution. The adventitious holiness of some of these written myths, ever under the strict surveillance of the priests, is well-known. This is how Sacred Books and Revelations, those crude and cosmological guesses, come to hold their own, and sometimes more than their own, in the religious pantheon. The hardening of myths into dogma,—that too is an eminent study in fossils and degeneration. It shows how " mythology has in some ways separated itself from society." This is the tyranny of the letter. Its mediaeval name is Divine Theology.

Religion apart, it is likely that a less exalted motive may be working in our study and enjoyment of the myths. In the surpassingly lovely stories of every mythic literature our sense of beauty receives its richest satisfaction. Aesthetically speaking there can be no difference at all that its legends and folklores —apart from their allegorical, symbolical, historic, religious and twenty other significations—are unmatched as stories. The poetry of mythology is never dead,

for the mythopoeic faculty is a reality in man. In the life of an average person it works best in childhood and also in adolescence when impossible cosmological visions and sweeping gallantries cross and recross the fevered mind of youth. Moreover, it is futile to hope to appreciate a large body of 'great poetry' without a background in mythology. Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, for instance, is likely to remain "pinnacledinane in the dim intense"—unless there is an intimacy with the myth of Prome theus to furnish the reader with an apparatus of appreciation. Incidentally, these poetic nature myths are not so many illusions, giving a name and a local habitation to airy nothings. In their own way they too meet and give their answer to the world of reality and necessity from which they are born. Shelley, his ideas and visions, his remedy and approach, may not be acceptable to pseudo-scientific intelligences, but a newer stirring of the spirit may well agree, in the main, with the Shelleyan way to a New Athens. But we digress.

Tribal and primitive poetry is, of course, interpenetrated with mythology. But even in comparatively recent times the nostalgia with which many of the major poets look towards the world of myths, "of all Olympus' *faded* hierarchy"; the inner compulsion which urges most of them to go the mythic kingdom, is a problem that awaits critical scrutiny. For instance, the relation of poetry to mythology from the second half of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, as also in contemporary literature, is a study worth undertaking. D. H. Lawrence once pleaded:

"I wish the Teutonic world would once more think in terms of Thor and Wotan, and the Igdrasil. And I wish that the Druidic world would honestly see that in the mistletoe is their mystery, and they themselves are Tuatha de Danaan, alive but submerged. And a new Hermes should come back to the Mediterranean, and a new Ashtaroth to Tunis; and Mithras again to Persia, and Brahma unbroken to India, and the oldest of dragons to China."

In our own days there is, so to say, an esoteric significance in the Celtic Revival, in Joyce's *Ulysses*, in the tapping of the *Aeneid* and *Divine Comedy* in Pound's *Cantos*; in Eliot's allusions to fertility myths in *Waste Land*. "The world of literary art is the world of tribal mythology become sophisticated and complex and self-conscious . . . Mythology with its ritual and art with its performances have similar functions—the adaptations of man's emotions to the necessities of social co-operation." Art-forms like tragedy, epic and heroic poetry and poetic drama may be traced back to their twilight mythological archetypes. As Miss Harrison points out in her *Art and Ritual*, "it is at the outset one and the same impulse that sends a man to church and to the theatre." Myths offer us a delightful investment in good and great art—good in *dénouement* and great in content and depth of interest. Their moving and majestic stories: the vast panorama of the Genesis and the Apocalypse; the petal-like delicacy and devotion of the hymns to Usha in the Rig Veda; the stirring tale of wily Odysseus; the short and charming Cinderella, fitted with morals too; the ethical conflict of Arjuna in the Gita; the grotesques of the Chinese dragon; the terror of the man-eating Uitzilipotchli in Mexico; the foam bathed Aphrodite and the radiance of her beauty; the dark wailing of Isis amid the Egyptian corn—these are, if nothing else, excellent pick-me-ups for the jaded imagination of modern man, pestered by creation saving entertainments, radios, gramophone records, cheap music, football matches and perpetual war news. Civilisation needs its belt of wild nature, at least for health and holiday. These myths are a magical fountain at which we may have a sacred bath which would free us from the impurities of the world being too much with us.

So might we, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathéd horn.

They give scope to our imagination and discipline in our erratic, not to say erotic, emotions to a newer style and standard. And the alchemy of the mystic art transmutes even the horrible, the disagreeable, the thoroughly bizarre into things of exquisite beauty and design. In the words of Sir James Frazer, than whom none is better qualified to speak on the subject, mythopoeic beliefs are beliefs "in which, as in a tower, the hopes and aspirations of humanity through long ages have sought a refuge from the storm and stress of life. . . . These venerable walls, mantled over with ivy and mosses and wild flowers of a thousand tender associations." To summarise the aesthetic point of view, by changing Arnold's famous utterance a little: "The future of the poetry of mythology is immense, because in poetry, where it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever surer and surer stay. There is not a creed which is not shaken, not as accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve. Our religion has materialised in the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea is the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry." Yet, it may be doubted if such a truncated poetry of myths, in this state of suspended animation, minus the religious belief in them, can survive for long, or if this is not making a second best of both worlds. The old man reading his Gita or Quoran—does he or does he not believe in the statements contained in them, and what is the nature of his belief? That is a point which calls for some definitive answer. Apart from any religious consideration, however, myths are the repositories of so many "significant forms" and highly charged symbols, that the poetry of mythology will always keep a bower quiet for us and an enjoyment of what Eliot would call "high dreams."

From the traditional, reformist, educative, religious and aesthetic to the psychological interest, we are perhaps moving in a crescendo! Psychology has made large conquests during the last fifty years. Neurosis, abnormality and the unconscious mind are its reserved forests, and myths have been the victims of its keen and dogged *shikar*. Our eminent psychopaths, including the great Sigmund Freud, have weighed it in the balance and found it wanting. Myths, they urge, are infantile fantasies, riddled with the omnipresent Oedipus Complex. Myths are illusions. As the human race progresses in the path of greater awareness and grows adult, there will be no future for these illusions, these dregs of the past. Freud and his compatriots, if I may say so, seem to confuse issues. They do not quite distinguish that the human adulthood to which they look forward need not mean that this adult will never be a youth or a child. Or do they mean by adults the grotesques whom Bernard Shaw anticipates in *Back to Methuealah*? Well, the myths need not come to the Freudian adult with the same quality of assent and spontaneity as it perhaps came to his believing ancestors. Yet in the counterpoint of a man's life the value and presence of myths or symbolic representations will not be, one thinks, nil nor insignificant. As a matter of brutal fact, if history proves anything, Freud's imaginary adult will invent new myths of his own. He may discard the old ones. He may, who knows, even give a prudential acceptance to these older myths, these "venerable prejudices." The residue of Irrationality is a sacred grotto. Its unseemly violation recoils on its desecrators. Any *tour de force*, a mutilation of a part of being, is disastrous. Attempts have been made, from time to time, to do away with all such fantasies. Their lesson is obvious.

"Nature remains unaltered, whatever conscious efforts are made to distort it. Men may deny the existence of a part of their own spirit; but what is denied is not thereby destroyed. The outlawed elements take their revenge on individuals, on whole societies."

Some of you will remember Mustapha Mond, the Controller of the Central London Hatchery and Conditioning Centre, in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. Mond is speaking of old world myths and attitudes, and how thoroughly the After Ford Society has rejected these venerable prejudices:

"You will remember," said the controller in his strong deep voice, "you all remember, I suppose, that beautiful and inspired saying of our Lord: 'History is bunk'." "History," he repeated slowly, "is bunk."

He waved his hand; and it was as though with an invisible feather-whisk he had brushed away a little dust and the dust was Harappa, was Ur of the Chaldees; some spider values, and they were Thebes and Babylon, Cnossos and Mycanae. Whisk, whisk—and where was Odysseus, where was Job, where were Jupiter and Gotama and Jesus? Whisk—and the specks of antique dirt called Athens and Rome, Jerusalem and the Middle Kingdom—all were gone. Whisk—the palace where Italy had been was empty. Whisk, the cathedrals; Whisk, King Lear and the Thoughts of Pascal. Whisk, Passion; Whisk. Requiem; Whisk, Symphony; Whisk . . . ."

This symbolic gesture of Huxley implies warning which we will do well to heed to. Jung's guess is probably nearer the truth than Freud's. According to Jung, "were all the myths of the world snapped at a moment, they would grow up again, in a different form. That is all." Myths have a Phoenix birth. It is unbelievable that the fantastic and the symbolical modes of expression will die a natural death, so long as our subliminal self does not undergo a radical change, the chances of which are remote. About the claims of psychoanalysis to exorcise the devil, it is enough to say that myths have been endowed with a fresh lease of life in the pages of Freud himself, whose works are a veritable Walpurgis Night in scientific dress. *Oedipus est mort*! *Vive le Oedipus*!

If now I refer once more to the historical utility of myths, the scientific historians may shrug their shoulders. It is a fact, however, that "by the aid of such contemporary writings like myths, the historians are now able to check the recorded lists of ancient kings, and to piece together something like a continuous line of dynasties in Egypt and Babylonia, since the foundation of the great cities of Memphis and Ur. We may notice where the records of the traditions of Israelites, written down in the later ages in the historical books of the Old Testatment, came in contact with ancient history from the monuments. Israelite tradition records (Genesis, XI, XII) that their ancestors had been in the Chaldean district of Ur, and in Egypt, which is evidence of their contact with the two great nations of the ancient world. The mention in Exodus (I, ii) of the Israelites being set to build for Pharaoh a city called Rameses, points to their oppression in Egypt having been under the Great Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty, apparently about 1400 B.C., which makes a point of contact between Egyptian and Hebrew chronology. In the Book of Kings there comes into view later persons and events, well-known in the contemporary records of other countries, as in the mention of Shishak, king of Egypt, who fought against Reheboam, and plundered the Temple (I, King, XIV, XXV). It seems likely that when Herodotus (11,141) describes the army of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, put to flight by the mice gnawing the soldiers' bows, that this is a version of the great disaster of Sennacherib of which the Bible gives a different account."

Thus, though we may not, wisely, equate myths with history—as was done by Euhemerus—myths by their service in the unearthing of ancient history warn us not to cast aside a story only because it comes in the garb of a myth. A myth also serves. . . . At any rate for understanding the thoughts of the old world nations, these myths tell us much that we can hardly learn from their histories. (I may mention, in passing, the psychoanalyst Dr. Girindrashekar Bose's *Purana Pravesh*, where fragments of Indian history are reconstructed on the basis of the *Puranas*.)

But the sceptic and the positivist whisper: "Will not the mythological and theological ages end? Are you not wasting our time on museum pieces when more urgent duties await our attention? By no means. Myths may come and myths may go but the mythopoeic faculty will go on for ever and we have got to come to friendly terms with it. If an amateur metaphysics is permitted, I will say that the world and its occult forces are a vast hieroglyphics which not even the keenest intellect can completely decipher. The residue of Irrationality—when all is said and done—remains. The intellect analyses, abstracts; its aim is utilitarian. Myths in their own way attempt at an emotional synthesis; they are concrete, often too concrete. Yet their aim, hidden beneath a debris of improbabilities, of "silly, savage and senseless" stories, is the balance of man with the secret rhythm and figures of the world. What reason have we to believe that our present scientific and quantitative approach is the only and the superior approach to the totality of nature? This, however, is not to plead for the acceptance of myths and superstitions in the place of hard-earned scientific laws or to question their usefulness. That would be suicidal. The temper of the present age is clearly hostile to myths. Is it because, within the protective shell of science, new and more abstract, desiccated and dehydrated myths are stirring in embryo, fighting for *lebensraum* with the dreams of yesterday? I wonder. For the curious I may refer to M. Bergson's short but valuable paper on *The Psychological Origin of the Belief in the Law of Causality* read at the first International Congress of Philosophy held at Paris in the year 1900.

A truer, less arrogant, less 'one-track' psychology will utilise these myths with a more catholic sympathy and understanding, instead of relegating it angrily to the waste paper basket. It will recognise their necessity. For did not even the Eighteenth Century Reason, that will-o'-the-wisp celebrated by Daniel Defoe as that "Most Serene, Most Invincible, Most Illustrious, Princess Reason," raised, during the French Revolutionary period, its own goddess? With an irony superbly unconscious the Goddess of Reason was impersonated by a charming and passionate woman of the streets. The choice that is given us is not between some myths and no myth. It is always between a more natural, a more satisfying and collective myth or a secular, abstract and imposed myth. The older myths before they ossified into dogmas and were turned into forces of reaction, had served life, been truly life-giving. They had been forces for social solidarity and expansion. The contemporary world is not without its own myths, and what hideous monsters, how life-destroying, most of these are! The manufacture of mechanomorphic myths, often masquerading as established scientific truths, is no less barbarous than the crude attempts of our primitive ancestors. If myth is to be dismissed as an illusion it may well be the Great Illusion now as then. To deprive the world of myths would be be to deprive the modern man of many of his fond stupidities. If we care to judge by results alone the martial and political myths of our times are no less abominable than those of the man-eating Uitzilipotchli of Mexico.

I promised to give you some illustrations of present-day myths. I draw my cases from current history. Turning to the European states we find that every dictatorship has evolved its own private jargon, its own myth. The purpose of these myths is to make a *de facto* government a government by divine right and need. By means of them the oppressed subjects can be persuaded, not only to tolerate, but actually to worship their insane and criminal oppressors. Significantly enough, one word is common to all the dictatorial vocabularies—that word is 'historical.' The Dictatorship of the Proletarist is an 'historical necessity.' The violence of the Communists is justified, because, unlike Fascist violence, it is being used to forward an 'historical' process. In the same way, Fascism is said by its supporters to possess a quality of 'historical' inevitableness. The Italians had a great 'mission,'

which was to create an empire, in other words, was to gas and machine-gun people weaker than themselves. Here is Signor Mussolini speaking: "We have created a myth. This myth is a faith, a noble enthusiasm. It does not have to be a reality, it is an impulse and a hope, belief and courage. Our myth is the nation, the great nation which we wish to make into a concrete reality." No less 'historically' necessary and right are the brutalities of men in brown shirts. As for the 'historical' importance of the Aryan race, this is so prodigious that absolutely any wickedness, any folly is permitted to men with fair hair and blue eyes, even to the Austrian Hitler and the swarthy little Goebbels. Strangely, the Nazi textbook of this Aryan myth is frankly described as *The Myth of the 20th Century*. Here is a typical passage from that book by Alfred Rosenberg: "To-day a new faith is awakening: the Myth of the Blood: the belief that it is by the Blood that the divine mission of man is to be defended: the belief, combined with the clearest knowledge, that Nordic Blood represents that Mystery which has overcome and replaced the old Sacraments." It is interesting to note that even in Russia, the land of Marxism and Dialectical Materialism, folk-lore about Lenin has been freshly minted, and a revival of ancient culture heroes, like Igor, welcomed.

From the worship of dead heroic ancestors we have moved on to deifying national and country "bosses." Call this progress, if you will. The Fuehrer, the Il Duce are variations of the Saviour theme, as Japan, England, America and Russia are variations on the Chosen Land. A student of myths, past and present, will save us from what Murdoch calls our primitive contemporaries:

> Behold man, without home,
> Orphaned, alone, impotent,
> Facing the dark abyss;
> All light and life
> Are no more than a past dream far away.

That is the time to remind ourselves that the "Past has not been liquidated."

In this factory world whose walls we are daily building higher and higher round us, we are in danger of feeling more and more like mice in some vast generating-centre; of forgetting that men remain more remarkable than anything men have made. It is becoming as easy for humanity to feel cowed and crushed before this roar of massed machines and machine-like masses as for Pascal to shrink before the 'silence of the infinite space.' The individual needs new armour against the world: new foundations for the Ivory Tower of his thought, the one sure reality among these vibrations of a million wheels. Yet the new armour can still be the old, reforged. It is the dead that must help us to keep alive. . . . . There are hours when the future can look so bleak, that the comfort even of these grows cold: then is the moment to remember, as a last reserve, the spirit of the Sagas, with their sardonic fatalism that relied on, hoped for, trusted in nothing outside itself. There like the Aurora for the Arctic winter against its darkened Heaven, neither bringing nor needing any promise of coming down, still flames the energy of Iceland—"the patience of the North."

North and South, East and West, the patience of humanity has been preserved in crystal in these myths. Nor have we to disinter any pyramid to reach these.

It is time for us to wind up. Myths, though I have not been able to touch this point at all, do not belong to one class. The interpretation of myths too has

varied immensely. From the time of Xenophanes ("oxen and horses, of they who had hands to grave images, would fashion their gods after their own shapes, and make them bodies like their own") down to Elliot Smith with his theories of Diffusion and Givers of Life—the science of mythology has undergone many reverses. "The magic mirror of mythology has never failed to show to every enquirer that which he wished to see in it." Winding through its intricacies, it is not too fond a hope to suggest that a careful investigator would, in the end, be enriched with a "clearer eye." Many of its older confusions and misunderstandings will vanish. But the desire for explanation being so ingrained in human nature, it may well be that the theoretician will now and then ignore and oversimplify complexities even and where these genuinely exist. Theoretic simplification is a siren who bewitches many a one less wily than Odysseus. Whatever the risks and dangers of the journey, this alone is clear, that rooted in the deep-delved earth, you will draw a more vital and profound nourishment from the past, either as a guide to follow, or as a warning to avoid.

Myths, I have said, have no birthplace nor native land. If that is too sweeping, some of the older myths have an appeal to us which yet endures. Where, for instance, will we find a more glorious vision of human one-ness and solar worship than in the inspiring hymn of Akhenaton to Ra, the Sun God? Except in another mythic parallel? Here is a stanza from the celebrated hymn:

> When thou arisest in the eastern horizon of heaven,
> Thou fillest every land with beauty . . . .
> The world is in thy hand,
> Even as thou hast made them.
> When thou hast arisen, they live.
> When thou settest, they die.
> For thou art duration, beyond thy mere limbs.
> By thee man liveth,
> And their eyes look upon thy beauty
> Untill thou settest. . . .
> Thou makest the beauty of form,
> Thou art in my heart.
>
> (From Prof. Breasted's translation.)

In our mythic studies we will see that man is not a lonely, selfish beast, "short, nasty and brutish," wandering on the surface of the globe with no aim but to procure food and safety. Civilisation, that strange and beautiful accident, based on primitive mutual aid and co-operation—that is the ark to hold by, even when fierce divisive emotions tear us into warring camps as they do to-day. What is certain is that a study of the myths in their variegated transmutations will endow us with an imaginative sympathy, an intellectual training, a sense of the solidarity and continuity of the human race, which not many other studies give us. Myths are the symbolic first chapter of the aeonic unfoldment of "Man, know Thyself."

Of the mystery and veil of life there is no end. The proper study of mankind is, no doubt, man. Myths are the early gropings of mankind, "the conjectural science of a primitive mental condition," to lift that veil. The inscription of a statue of Isis in the Egyptian city of Sais runs: "I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be, and no mortal hath raised my veil." In the language of the doggerel,

> This world's all a fleeting show
> For man's illusion given.

The infinite variety of myths neither age nor fashions in theories shall stale.

FOREIGN AND OUTLYING TRIBES IN EPIC INDIA

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

IT is necessary to define Epic India chronologically, geographically and politically in the first instance before we proceed to examine references to foreign outlying tribes in the two Epics. Epic India means, of course, India as described in the two Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, but the two Epics differ in many material points in their descriptions of India as may be expected, because they belonged to different periods of time, originated in widely separated places and concerned themselves with different parts of the country and fortunes of different royal dynasties. Nevertheless, to a large extent both of them cover in common a particular period of the history of India to which reference will be made presently. According to scholars the Mahabharata took nearly a thousand years to evolve in its present form.[1] According to Macdonell the historical germ of the Mahabharata—conflict between the Kurus and Panchalas—cannot be later than 1000 B.C. The original form of the text-book took shape during the 5th century B.C., additions were made to it after 300 B.C. and it had assumed the form of a didactic compendium by the beginning of the Christian era.[2] It is in the additions made after 300 B.C. that foreign tribes come into notice. Macdonell cites evidence proving that the text might have attained the form in which we have it by 350 A.C. or earlier.[3] The date of the Ramayana, according to scholars, is about 400 B.C.[4] Macdonell thinks that the original part of the Ramayana (five books from II to VI) was completed at a time when the epic kernel of the Mahabharata had not assumed definite shape, and additions were made after 300 B.C.[5] The earlier origin of the Ramayana has been argued mainly from evidence in relation to Buddhism, political conditions of Eastern India described in the Epic and from other considerations.[6]

Thus while the historical kernel of the story of the Mahabharata refers to Vedic times, the Kurus and Panchalas who appear as rivals had become united as early as the Yajur Veda[7]—when the Epic in its original form began to be composed. Northern India between the Himalayas and the Narbada was politically organised into sixteen states mentioned in the Pali texts, many of them probably tribal republics. Of these states Magadha gradually rose to power at the cost of Kasi, Kosala, Anga, Vaisali, etc. and under the Sisunaga dynasty it rose to become the seat of imperial power. About this time (500 B.C.) Sind and probably a portion of the Punjab east of the Indus were seized by Darius, the Achaemenian emperor of Persia, and a way was opened to the infiltration of Persian influence into India. A little before this Eastern India saw the rise of two religions, Jainism and Buddhism. During the time that additions continued to be made, the Greek invasion of the Punjab took place, the Mauryas rose in power and their empire spread over the whole of India (except the extreme southern territories) occupied by the Cheras (Kerala-putra and Satiyaputra states), Cholas and Pandyas and beyond the Indus up to the Hindukush; Pataliputra, the capital of the Maurya empire attracted strangers from all parts of the world,[8] ambassadors of foreign states (Greek and

[1] 500 B.C. to 400 A.C. according to Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, Vol. 31, p. 29; 500 B.C. according to Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 309.

[2] Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 285f.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[4] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Macdonell—500-200 B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[5] Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 308.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[8] There was a Board to deal with foreigners: "The existence of elaborate regulations (regarding foreigners) is conclusive proof that the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century B.C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business." (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Third Ed., p. 127).

Egyptian) came to reside at the capital among Indians and several Persian Court customs were imitated at the Maurya Court.[9] Jainism and Buddhism began to spread over India from their homes. Under Asoka's missionary activities Buddhism spread to neighbouring states, among tribes on the frontiers of the empire, to the indepedent states of South India and foreign missions organised by him visited Ceylon, Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus. "The missionary organisation thus embraced three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe."[10] Tribes brought under the influence of Buddhism were the Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Yavanas of the Kabul valley and regions further west, the Bhojas, Pulindas, Pitenikas (dwelling among the hills on the Vindhya range and Western Ghats), the Andhras, etc. Missionaries were sent to the Southern states and monasteries were established at several places (one at Tanjore).[11] The king of Ceylon was converted to Buddhism. The legends of Khotan connect Asoka with this country.[12] The rock and pillar edicts and cave inscriptions of Asoka cover the country from the Himalayas to Mysore and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea.[13]

Asoka's India was the India of the 3rd century B.C. When Pusyamitra, the founder of the Suṅga dynasty, was ruling at Pātaliputra, Bactrian Greeks had already established themselves in Afghanistan and the Punjab and Sind were seized by Demetrios the Bactrian king (190 B.C.), who described himself as the king of the Indians. For about 200 years from this time up to the time of the overthrow of the Greek rule by the Kushan (20 A.C.) the Punjab remained under Greek rule. At about 155 B.C. Menander seized the Indus delta, Suraṣtra, Mathurā, besieged Mādhyamika and Suket and threatened Pātaliputra. Bactria was conquered by the Śakas who had established themselves in Seistan (140-120 B.C.) and probably by 50 B.C. or later Śaka settlements were established at Taxila and Mathurā. Another horde of the Śakas seized Suraṣtra and founded a dynasty at Ujjain. The Śaka chiefs at Taxila and Mathurā were probably subordinate to the Parthian power which had in the meantime established itself in Persia (the Arsakidan dynasty, 240 B.C. to 226 A.C.). The line of the Śaka satraps at Taxila gave way to a line of Indo-Parthian princes, some of whom are known from their coins (Maues, probably a Śaka, Azes I, Azes II, Azilises, Gondophares who seized Sind). Indo-Parthian rule in North-Western India was brought to an end by the Kadphises kings of the Kushan line. Kadphises II annexed the Punjab and Sind (50 A.C.) and his power spread to the Gangetic plains up to Benares. Kushan power was firmly established in Western India and Kashmir by Kaniṣka (78-123 A.C.). Under Kushan rule trade relations by the overland path were opened with the Roman empire (South India at the same period carried on maritime trade with the Roman empire) and political relations were established between China and India. Sassanian influence appears in the coins of the later Kushan kings. With the death of Vasudeva (178 A.C) the Kushan line lost the position of the paramount power in Northern India.

The end of the Kushan line as paramount power in Northern India nearly synchronised with the end of the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty (which appears between 240-230 B.C.) as paramount power in Southern India. An Andhra king terminated the Kanva dynasty at Pātaliputra which had succeeded the Suṅga dynasty and an Andhra king Śri Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī put an end to the Śaka Kshaharata dynasty of Mahārāṣtra (124 A.C.). According to the Puranas the Andhras were succeeded by kings of the Ābhira and Gardhabila tribes. They

[9] Persian Influence on Maurya India, *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 201.
[10] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 185.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

give a long list of tribes which rose to power in different parts of the country including the Śakas, Yavanas, Tukharas, Muṇḍas, Maunas (according to Wilson, Hūṇas), Bāhlikas, Mekalas, Niṣādas, Guptas, etc.[14] After the fall of the Kaṇvas Eastern India or Magadha lost its political predominance for several centuries until the Imperial Guptas arose (320-606 A.C.). The reign of the Guptas may be mentioned for two important events that took place under it. The first event was the fall of the Śaka dydasty which had established itself at Ujjain in the first century of Christ and which under Rudradaman I (126-150 A.C.) extended its rule over the whole of Western India including Surāṣṭra, Malwa, Cutch, Sind, the Konkan and other districts. The second event was the invasion of the White Hūṇas. Their first invasion (484 A.C.) was checked by Skandagupta but when Persian opposition to their attacks had collapsed a fresh horde under Toramana seized Gāndhāra and brought about the collapse of the Gupta Empire. Toramana established his power in Malwa before 500 A.C.

The above is a brief outline of the political changes that took place in India during the time that additions were made to the two Epics and some time after. Some of the references in the Mahabharata bring us to the time of the Hūṇa invasions. Probably, the following foreign hordes entered India between the time of Alexander (325 B.C.) and the invasions of the White Hūṇas (450-500 A.C): (1) The Yavanas or Yonas, mainly Bactrian Greeks (250-125 B.C.); (2) the Parthians or Pahlavas (170-100 B.C.); (3) the Śakas; one main horde passed in through Sind (150-100 B.C.); and the next (4) the Yuechis or Kushans who came down the Kabul valley (130 B.C.) [After the Kushans there followed the Kēdāras or little Yuechis (380 A.C.) and the Juan-Juan or Avars who came down the Kabul valleys in early 5th century A.C.]; (5) the Yetas or Epthalites or White Hūṇas or Khazars with whom were associated or among whom were included the Mihiras or Mers and the Gujjaras who entered India from the north-west by the Swat valley and from the west by Seistan (450-500 A.C.).

We may now return to the Mahabharata. We have in the text an old story of rivalry, which belongs to Vedic times, made to serve as the foundation of a superstructure, different parts of which belong to different periods and the latest portions of which belong to a time removed perhaps not more than two to three centuries from the time of Arab Moslems (713 A.C.). There were thus different stages in the development of the Epic which are indicated by the huge mass of extraneous matter that gathers round the main story over which hangs an air of the ancient world, while foreign tribes such as the Chīnas, Śakas, Pārasikas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Hūṇas, etc., come to be mentioned among the inhabitants of India.[15] The lists of the rivers, countries, peoples and holy places given in the Mahabharata show that the Epic knew the whole of India and that the Brahmanical religion and social system had spread over the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Kumārikā and from sea to sea. It is with the Middle country in which the Kuru-Pāñchālas flourished and the early Brahmanas had been composed and Western India where branches of the Yādavas, namely, the Sātvatas, Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas lived and where waves of invasion deposited layers of foreign settlers, *e.g.*, Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas (see Mahabharata, Sabha P., Ch. 32, vv. 16, 17), Gujjars, Mers, etc., that the principal Epic story is mainly concerned. It is noteworthy that in mentioning eastern, southern and northern tribes the Epic appears to be free from the bias against peoples living outside the Midland which characterises some of the Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and also some of the Puranas which ape them. This proves that the Epic is a long way removed from the age of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras in spirit.

[14] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bangavasi Ed., IV. 25.
[15] *Mahabharata*, Bangavasi Ed., Bhiṣma Parvan, Ch. 9.

The original part of the Ramayana is held to be pre-Buddhistic but as in the Mahabharata so also in the Ramayana there are several references to Buddhism which cannot be dismissed as interpolations. References to foreign and outlying tribes prove that additions continued to be made long after the Christian era. Political changes and foreign invasions that took place in India during this time have already been referred to, but to these changes there appears to be no reference in the two texts. It is in accord with the air of antiquity which both epics preserve that no notice is taken of contemporary political events; as for instance, there is complete silence in regard to the invasion of Alexander. While the Mahabharata is concerned with the Western and Middle country and the Kuru, Pāñchāla and Yādava tribes, the Ramayana is concerned with Eastern India and the royal race of the Ikṣvākus.[16] The geographical and topographical data of the Ramayana are quite meagre in comparison with those of the Mahabharata. In Eastern India where the Ramayana arose only three countries seem to have been intimately known, *e.g.*, Kosala, Videha and Aṅga, and in the instructions given to the Vānaras for searching for Sita in the east only two identifiable lands, Puṇḍra and Aṅga, are mentioned. The Mahabharata shows far more intimate knowledge of Eastern India. Besides Kāsi, Kosala, Ayodhyā, Videha, Magadha, Aṅga, it refers to Vasudeva king of Puṇḍra, (kings of Vaṅga, Pūṇḍra and Kirāta countries, Sabha, P. Ch. 14. 20) Samudrasen, Candrasen and other kings of Vaṅga, Suhma, Tāmraliṗta, Mlecchas inhabiting the coast of the great sea, king of Lauhitya, etc. (Sabha P., Chs. 28, 29.) References to the countries in the north, south and west are fuller. While neighbouring countries are ignored, the far, off Yavadvipa, Suvarnadvipa, etc., are mentioned.[17] In enumerating countries in the north the Ramayana mentions the lands of the Bhāratas and Kurus along with the lands of the Mlecchas, Pulindas, Madrakas, Kāmvojas, Yavanas, Śakas, etc.[18] But the Bhāratas already appear as a great people of the past in the Brāhmaṇa texts[19] and they had merged with other tribes long before the date of the Ramayana. The statement would show that northern tribes had become somewhat unfamiliar to the people of Eastern India at the time of the Ramayana.

We may now examine the references to the outlying and foreign tribes in the two Epics.

Among foreign and outlying tribes mentioned in the Ramayana there occur the following: from Savalā's (Vaśiṣṭha's cow) roar were crated the Pahlavas. She created also Saka troops mixed with Yavanas. They were yellow-complexioned, dressed in yellow and of great prowess. There were also Kāmbhoja troops created from her roar resplendent as the sun. Barbara troops were created from her udders, Yavana troops from her womb, Śakas from her hind-parts and Mlecchа, Kirāta and Hārīta troops from pores of her body.[20] Northern tribes are mentioned to the Vānaras who are instructed to search for Sita in the northern region. They are the Mlecchas, Pulindas, Surasenas, Prasthalas, Bhāratas, Kurus, Madrakas, Kāmvojas, Daradas, Yavanas, and Śakas. The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned among northern tribes.[21] Among Western countries and peoples are mentioned Saurāṣṭra, Bāhlika, Chandrachitta, etc. Prāgjyotis (with Naraka as king) is placed in the west. In the Mahabharata Prāgjyotis (with Bhagadatta as king) is placed in the west. Avanti, Jatāpur and Muracipattan are mentioned among western countries and cities. Among

[16] King Ikṣvāku is mentioned as ruling the country formerly ruled by king Bhagiratha and his desendant Aśmati and the country is said to have been much praised by great men. *Rgveda* X, 60. 4

[17] *Ramayana*, Basumati Ed. (Bengali), Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, Ch. 40.

[18] *Ibid.*, Ch. 43.

[19] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 169.

[20] *Ramayana*, Bāla Kāṇḍa, Chs. 49, 50.

[21] *Ibid.*, Kiṣk. Kāṇḍa, Ch. 43.

southern countries and peoples are mentioned Andhras, Puṇḍras, Cholas, Paṇḍyas, Kerala, etc. (Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, Chs. 41, 42). The Chīnas, Tukhāras, Barbaras and Kamvojas are mentioned in another place.[22] The Kirātas are mentioned as an eastern tribe.[23] Among persons who attended on Daśaratha when Rama was going to be installed as heir-apparent there were princes of the north, east, west and south, Aryyas, Mlecchas, jungle tribes and hill tribes.[24] Thus the foreign and outlying tribes mentioned in the Ramayana include the Chīnas, Yavanas, Tukhāras, Śakas, Pahlavas, Mlecchas, Kirātas, Hāritas, Kāmvojas, Daradas, Barbaras, etc.

The story of Vaśiṣṭha's cow is told also in the Mahabharata. Tribes created by the cow were Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Chīnas, Hūṇas, Siṃhalas, Drāviḍas, Savaras, Barbaras, Puṇḍras. Khaśas and various other Mleccha tribes.[25] Among tribes and princes invited to the Rājasūya Yajña performed by the Pāṇḍava brothers were Pahlavas, Chīnas, Yavanas, Hāra-Hūṇas, Tuṣāras, Hūṇas, Barbaras, Mlecchas, Daradas, Kirātas, Muṇḍas, etc.[26] There were Chinese and Kirāta troops in the army of king Bhagadatta and large contingents of troops sent by him to Kurukṣetra on the side of Duryodhana included Chinese ahd Kirāta troops.[27] Presents were sent to Yudhiṣṭhira when the Rājasūya sacrifice was performed by the king of Kamvoja, by Bhagadatta king of Prāgjyotiṣ, ruler of the Mlecchas who was accompanied by Yavanas, by the Chīnas, Hāra-Hūṇas, Sakas, Tuṣāras, Kaṅkas, Barbaras, by tribes that lived in jungles, Kirātas, kings living on both sides of the Brahmaputra, by the kings of the coastal regions, by the Kṣatriyas of Darada, Pārada, Bāhlīka, Pahlava countries, etc.[28] Before the performance of the sacrifice all the kings in the north, south, east and west of India were subjugated by Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. Arjuna subjugated northern tribes and states and proceeded up to the land of the Uttara-Kurus. There were many northern Mleccha and Dasyu tribes defeated by him. Bhīma subjugated eastern tribes and states including Mleccha tribes living in the coastal regions. Sahadeva subjugated southern states and tribes including cities of the Yavanas. Nakula subjugated western states and tribes including Ābhīras, Hāra-Hūṇas add other western kings and Mlecchas, Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and Śakas who lived by the sea (*Tataḥ sāgarakukṣistāna mleccān paramadārunān pahlavān barbarāṃścaiva kirātān yavanān śakān*).[29] In the Bhīṣma Parvan there is a list of regions inhabited by different tribes. Among these tribes there occur the following : Śakas, Hūṇas, Pahlavas, Uttara Mlecchas, Apara Mlecchas, Yavanas, Chīnas, Pārasīkas as well as such outlying tribes as the Kirātas, Barbaras, Daradas, Bāhlikas, Kāmvojas, etc.[30] Among kings of different tribes defeated by Karṇa are mentioned the kings of the Śakas, Chīnas, etc.[31] In the Śānti Parvan there is a list of tribes which, according to the context in which they are mentioned, were obviously regarded as being under the Brahmanical system. The list includes Yavanas, Śakas, Chīnas, Tuṣāras, Pahlavas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Andhras, Madrakas, Pauṇḍras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas, Kaṅkas, Kāmvojas, etc.[32]

[22] *Cīnāpara cīnāṃsca tukhārān babarānapi*, etc. *Ramayana*, V. 44, 14, Ed. by G. Corresio, 1884.
[23] *Ramayana*, Basumati Ed., Kiṣk. Kāṇḍa, Ch. 40.
[24] *Ibid.*, Ajodhyā Kāṇḍa, Ch. 40.
[25] *Mbh.*, Adi P., Ch. 173, vv. 34, 35.
[26] *Ibid.*, Vana P., Ch. 51, vv. 22-26.
[27] *Ibid.*, Udyoga P., Ch, 19, v. 15.
[28] *Ibid.*, Sabha P., Chs 50, 51.
[29] *Ibid.*, Ch. 32, vv. 16, 17.
[30] *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma P., Ch. 9.
[31] *Ibid.*, Karṇa P., Ch. 8, vv. 18-20.
[32] *Ibid.*, Śānti P., Ch. 65, vv. 13, 14.

From the list given above it is found that the Śakas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras or Tukhāras, Chīnas, etc., were known to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The Mbh. adds Hūṇa, Hāra-Hūṇas and Pārasikas. The Mleccha was probably a general name in both the Epics for non-Aryan-speaking racial or tribal groups outside the Brahmanical religious and social system. It is to be noted that the same groups that are described as Mlecchas are sometimes called Dasyus. In the Droṇa Parvan the warlike Kāmvojas, Yavanas skilled in archery, Śakas, Kirātas, Daradas, Barbaras and Tāmraliptakas who fought on the side of the Kauravas are spoken of as Mleccha tribes (Ch. 117, vv. 12-14). They are also spoken of as Dasyus.[33] Manu distinguishes the Mleccha tongue from the Aryan tongue and according to him all countries outside the Āryāvarta are Mleccha countries.[34] In the Sabhā Parvan the Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and Śakas are spoken of as formidable Mlecchas (*mlecchān parama dārunān*, Ch. 32, v. 16). In the Bhīṣma Parvan list of tribes northern Mlecchas are, distinguished from other Mlecchas and the Yavanas, Chīnas, Kāmvojas, etc., are spoken of as formidable Mleccha tribes (*dāruṇā mlecchajātayah*, Ch. 9, v. 65). In the east Bhīma defeated Mleccha tribes living in the coastal regions and Mleccha princes offered him many presents and tributes.[35] In the south princes of Mleccha origin were defeated by Sahadeva.[36] In the west also in the coastal regions and islands there were tribes spoken of as Mlecchas.[37] In the Udyoga Parvan it is said that Nakula subjugated western countries where there were many Mlecchas (*yaḥ pratic īmdiśam cokre vase mlecchaganāytām*), Ch. 50, v. 29). Mleccha tribes are located in the north in the Śānti Parvan and they are called Dasyus.[38] So we find that in the north, south, west and east there were tribes and princes called Mleccha. Suhma and Lauhitya, placed in the east (Suhma is placed also in the north) are associated with Mleccha tribes and princes. King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣ is called a lord of the Mlecchas[39] (*mlecchānāmadhipa valī*). It is to be noted that tribes and princes of coastal countries and islands are often called Mlecchas.[40] The Yavanas (or Yonas) are mentioned in association with the Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas and Śakas in the west,[41] Kāmvojas, Gāndhāras, Kirātas and Barbaras in the north.[42] They were invited to the Rājasūya along with the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kirātas, Hāra-Hūṇas, Chīnas, Tuṣāras, etc. A city of the Yavanas is located in the south by the side of Aṭabipura.[43] They accompanied king Bhagadatta to the Rājasūya and there were contingents of them in the army of Sudarśana, king of Kāmvoja.[44] The warlike Kāmvojas, Yavanas skilled in archery, Śakas, Kirātas, Tāmraliptakas, Taṅganas, Khaśas, Lampakas, Bāhlikas, Daradas and Pulindas fought Sātyaki at Kurukṣetra. The Yavanas used armours of iron and bell metal (kāṃsya).[45] The Kāmvojas, Yavanas and Śakas were probably cavalrymen led by the king of Kāmvoja. In the Ramayana only Pahlavas are mentioned. In the Mahabharata we have Pahlavas, Pahnavas and Pārasīkas. The Pārasīkas appear in the list of tribes inhabiting India along with Sakṛdgrahas, Kulutthas and Hūṇas (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 9, v. 66), in other lists only Pahlavas are mentioned. It is possible that the two forms were used for

[33] *Ibid.*, Droṇa P., Ch. 19, vv. 28, 43.
[34] *Manu Saṃhitā*, X, vv. 43, 44.
[35] *Mbh.*, Sabhā P., 30, vv. 27, 28.
[36] *Ibid*, Ch. 31, v. 66.
[37] *Ibid.*, Ch. 32, v. 16.
[38] *Ibid.*, Śānti P., Ch. 168, v. 29.
[39] *Ibid.*, Sabhā P., Ch. 31, v. 14 (*mlecchānāmadhipa valī*). He is called also Lord of the Yavanas, ruler of Naraka and Muru and compared to Varuṇa in the west. Sabhā P., Ch. 14, v. 15.
[40] Sabhā P., 26/9, 30/2, 31/66. 32/16.
[41] *Ibid.*, Ch. 32, v. 17.
[42] Śānti P., Ch. 207, vv. 42, 44.
[43] Sabhā P., Ch. 31, v. 72.
[44] Udyoga P., Ch. 19, v. 21.
[45] Droṇa P., Ch. 117, vv. 47, 48.

two or more distinct waves of immigration from Persia, the form Pahlava being used for the Indo-Parthians. The Huṇas are distinguished from the Hāra-Hūṇas. The Hūṇas are mentioned in association with Pārasīkas, Sakṛdgrahas, Kulutthas, etc. The Hāra-Hūṇas are mentioned in the list of tribes attending the Rājasuya (Sabhā P., Ch. 51, v. 24). They are mentioned in the list of western princes subjugated by Nakula in association with the Ramaṭhas (Sabha P., Ch. 32, v. 12). In another list of tribes that attended the Rājasūya they are mentioned in association with the Chīnas, Tuṣāras, Saindhavas, Pahlavas, Daradas, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śakas, etc., probably belonging to the western coast (*paścimāni rāṣṭrāṇi śataśah sāgarāntikān pahlavān daradān*, Vana P., Ch. 51, v. 24). It is not explained why the Hāra-Hūṇas are distinguished from the Hūṇas. The Tuṣāras (Tukhāras) appear in the list of tribes that attended the Rājasūya in association with the Hāra-Hūṇas, Chīnas, Saindhava, etc. (Vana P., Ch. 51, v. 25), in the list of tribes and princes who sent presents on the occasion in association with the Śakas, Kaṇkas, etc. (Sabha P., Ch. 51, v. 30) and in the list of tribes under Brahmanical influence (Santi P., Ch. 65). They are not mentioned in the list of subjugated tribes. The Hūṇas, Tuṣāras and Pahlavas are not stated to have taken any part in the battle of Kurukṣetra like the Śakas, Yavanas, Chīnas, etc.

There are frequent references to the Chīnas in both the Epics. There was regular intercourse between the Indians and the Chinese from very early times and probably also intermittent political relations, but it is not known that there were any Chinese settlements within the boundaries of India in the early period. There was contact with the Chinese at the eastern frontier and there was contact with the Mongolians in north-western India in pre-historic times. A Mongolian skull has been discovered at Mohenjo Daro and Mongolian features occur in several terra cotta human figurines discovered in the Indus Valley.[46] In the Mahabharata the association of Bhagadatta with the Chinese is several times mentioned. His army contained large contingents of the Chinese wearing gold ornaments and Kirātas (Udyoga P., Ch. 19, v. 15). They are mentioned along with the Pārasīkas, Kāmvojas, etc. as having settlements in the north (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 9). They were invited to the Rājasūya and sent presents. They were defeated by Karṇa and made tributary to Duryodhana (Karṇa P., Ch. 8), and they appear in the list of tribes under Brahmanical influence. There is a reference in the Udjyoga P. to 18 princes who were a disgrace to the royal houses to which they belonged and who brought about the ruin of their families. One among these princes is Dhautamuluka, a Chinese prince (*cīnānām dhautamūlukah*, Ch. 74, v. 14). The Simhalas are mentioned in the Mahabharata as sending presents of pearls, etc., on the occasion of the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabha P., Ch. 51), having been invited to attend it, while the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas sent sandal juice, aguru, golden cloth, etc.

Among outlying tribes the most frequently mentioned are the Bāhlīkas, Kāmvojas, Kirātas, Barbaras, Pulindas, Daradas, etc. They are often associated with foreign tribes. Of these the Bāhlīkas, Kāmvojas, Daradas were northern frontier tribes. Other northern outlying tribes were the Lohas, Ṛṣikas, probably Kaṇkas, Khaśiras, Khasas, Kāśmīrakas, Gāndhāras, Piśācas, Kulindas, etc. The Kirātas are placed in the north and east, the Pulindas in the north, east and west, the Barbaras in the east. The Ābhīras and Ramaṭhas are placed in the west, the Niṣādas in the south and east, the Karvatas in the east. The Ābhīras are associated with the Bairamas, Kitavas and Pārādas and placed near the Indus and coastal country (*samudre niṣkuṭe jātāh pare sindhu ca mānavāh*, Sabha P., Ch. 51, v. 12). The Savaras, Muṇḍas, etc., appear to be interior tribes. The Mallas, Śarmakas, Varmakas, etc., are spoken of as eastern tribes besides Tāmraliptakas, Sumbas, Karvatas, etc.

46 Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisations*, Vol. I, p. 107f.

We may now draw attention to some of the important facts which emerge from the above considerations.

References to foreign tribes, particularly to the Hūṇas would show that certain additions to the Mahabharata were made quite late. These foreign tribes, the Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Tuṣāras and Hūṇas (according to the Mahabharata) were apparently regarded as inhabitants of the country. They were called Mlecchas and Dasyus but the Śānti Parvan reference and the Manu Saṃhita reference show that they were regarded as Kṣatriyas who had deviated from the orthodox standard due to distance, lack of communication with Brahmans, etc. This would mean that they had fully or partially accepted the Brahmanic religion and social system. These foreign peoples must have lived in India for a long time and largely intermingled with the indigenous population before this stage was reached. But the fact that they were frequently called Mlecchas and Dasyus would show that they had remained distinguishable from the indigenous people and were generally regarded as outcasts. Such Mleccha tribes and their princes there were in the north, south, east and west and many of their settlements were in the coastal countries. In western India the Śakas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Kirātas and Barbaras were Mleccha tribes that lived in the coastal regions and islands; whether the Mleccha tribes living in Suhma (in eastern India), in Lauhitya and in the coastal countries were foreign tribes or not is not stated. The Tāmraliptakas, who fought at Kurukṣetra along with the Kāmvojas, Yavanas, Śakas, etc., are called Mlecchas. Among eastern peoples defeated by Bhīma only one foreign tribe, namely the Śakas, are mentioned by name and they are located near about Videha (Sabha P., Ch. 30).

The India as described in the Bhīṣma Parvan and Sabhā Parvan of the Mahabharata seems to be the India of the Mauryas under whom victorious Indian arms were carried up to the Hindukush, and of the Imperial Guptas. The description of the empire of Jarāsandha of Magadha and his victories over many kings of the north and west is probably a reminiscence of the victories of the Maurya or Gupta emperors of Pāṭaliputra. This India with all the peoples living in different and distant parts of it from the trans-Himalayan provinces in the north to Ceylon in the south and from the Eastern sea to the Western sea acknowledging the supremacy of a Central Power, sending costly presents in local produces and tributes, foreign tribes settled in the country such as the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Tuṣāras, Chīnas, Hūṇas, etc., southern peoples like the Keralas, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Andhrakas, the people of distant Siṃhala, eastern peoples like the Suhmas, Tāmraliptakas, etc., outlying tribes like the Kāmvojas, Bāhlikas, Kāśmīrakas, Daradas, Khaśas, Haradas, Lampakas, etc., joining hands with the peoples of Āryāvarta in sending their tribute was not probably known before the Mauryas. It is against the background of the Maurya or Gupta India that the Mahabharata portrays the picture of a prehistoric, forgotten conflict between the Kurus and Pāñcālas in which princes in the north, south, east and west of India are described as taking part, some of them with Yavana, Śaka and Chinese troops in their armies. As against the gigantic canvas spread out before us in the Mahabharata, the Ramayana looks like a far less ambitious attempt and is much less representative of India as a whole.

For a proper understanding of the religious, social and political ideas set forth in the two Epics it is necessary to remember the position they occupy in relation to the history of India and the references to the foreign and outlying tribes in them may be regarded as landmarks to indicate this position.

BJOERNSTJERNE BJOERNSON'S DEATH-BED

By the eminent present-day Norwegian author and play-wright

JOHAN FALKBERGET

Translated into English from the original text in Norwegian by

P. K. BANERJEE

(1)

Death's cruel axe-stroke sharp doth ring,
Day and night work hard he must;—
Unweary slogs the Ranger tough
Year in, year out, without a huff;
And never must his steel-axe rust;
The Muse in me of him doth sing.

(2)

Inexorably strikes on Death
In day-light and when night doth grow;
One autumn-eve when the sun was low,
He struck upon a stem like rock,
That bore all strokes with but a shock;
That dauntless stood, though out of breath.

(3)

But Death the Ranger roves about
In day-light and in darkness o' night,
So much he never strain'd his might
To fell.—A giant of the wood
'Twas, that brought him in angry mood
For once to him Death lost the bout.

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FUTURE OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE

Hundred per cent Westernism and an equal amount, if not more, of anti-Islam or anti-Orientalism inspire the ideologies of the Egyptian scholar, Taha Hussein, in his Arabic book *Mustaqbal al Thaquara fi Misr* (The Future of Culture in Egypt). Egypt belongs geographically, historically and culturally to the Hellenic world, says he. In *International Affairs* (London) A. S. Eban maintains that according to Hussein modern Egypt is as Medeterranean as Italy or France. Egyptians bore the domination of Arab Caliphate with ill grace and at the first opportunity had seceded and founded an independent dynasty under Tulunids and Fatimids. It is true, he even goes forward to say, that an Eastern religion—Islam—had spread through Egypt; but this no more changed her essentially Hellenic nature than the spread of an Oriental religion —Christianity—had changed the Hellenic outlook of Europe and converted that continent to an Esstern view-point. In this way of looking at things it is mere superstition to regard Egypt as an Oriental country, and gross reaction to keep any distance between her and the European culture which she had fostered and preserved. This kind of modernism in cultural interpretations is not a new or a solitary phenomenon in contemporary Egypt. We find here an explanation of the fact that Pan-Islam has hardly found any substantial backing among Egyptian intellectuals, publicists, and patriots. But this aspect of Western Asia does not seem to be well-known in India. Indian scholars ought to take greater interest in Egypt.

INDONESIAN ECONOMY

In the *Economic Development of the Netherlands Indies* by Brock the thesis is established that Indonesia's prosperity will depend in future on Dutch officials. It is the "post-war" reconstruction and prosperity of Holland such as may be served by Indonesia on which he focuses his attention. This is albinocracy and colonialism carried to the *n*th term. Dutch experts, it seems, have not yet learned to use the liberalistic expressions, however meaningless they be, employed by British Empire-holders in regard to their dependencies.

Not less thorough-going in the reactionary attitude of another Dutch world-economic expert *vis-à-vis* Indonesia. Boeke in his *Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy* speaks of the pre-capitalistic conditions of Indonesia as if they are to remain the eternal realities of South-eastern Asia. *Vis-à-vis* this primitive economy he poses the industrial-bourgeois economy of the Dutch imperial financers as another permanent fixture of this region. Evidently he ignores the no less tremendously fundamental reality that the "dualistic economy" observed in Indonesia is the creation of sinister political situations injected into this territory by foreign domination. Boeke's economics is too medieval and unrealistic to observe that it is only during the last fifty years or so that primitive economies like those of Italy and Japan have been modernized. Nay, it is too impervious to the Russian achievements of the last two decades. The impacts of Soviet Russia as well as Italy and Japan on the mentality of all those economic theorists who speculate about "backward regions" and "dualistic economy" are well calculated to rouse them to the need for the politics of de-imperialization.

HOUSEWIVES' COUNCIL IN SWEDEN

Feminists of India and their progressive men friends are likely to derive inspiration from a recent development in Sweden. A new organization known as the Housewives' Council has been established under the auspices of the Swedish Co-Operative Union. The Council is composed of representatives of all important women organizations in Sweden, *e.g.*, the Swedish Housewives' Association, the women's organisation of all the large political parties, the Co-operative Women Guilds, the Professional Women's Association, etc. It also includes representatives of the Press, of the Association of Rural Industries, of the Health Institutes and of other institutions which are interested in the working conditions of housewives. The Council will act as an advisory body to the Co-operative Union. Among other activities, it will advise the Union on the production of household implements, and sponser their testing. It will also engage in educational activities directed to the improvement of household appliances, the rationalization of household work, the introduction of modern appliances in rural areas, etc. The programme will include the production of films on these subjects.

A NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In a recent issue of *International Conciliation* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) something like a new League of Nations is suggested. The "Design for a Charter of the General International Organization" is elucidated in one of the articles of this issue. It is said, among other things, that the General International Organization should be "set up

immediately by the United Nations" and that obviously the present Axis powers will not be admitted to participation until representatives of their government are accepted by the Assembly." We are told likewise that "regional organizations or alliances are not enough to keep the peace of the world."

One fails to understand in what essential particulars the G. I. G. as suggested for the Anglo-American and allied victors in World War II differs from the League of Nations as established in 1919 for the victors of World War I. The motives, ideals and methods of that L. O. N. were some of the most conspicuous agencies in the breeding or manufacture of World War II. A World War II is just the thing to which the G. I. G. as suggested in this new Charter for world-peace is well calculated to lead mankind.

DEPENDENCIES AND WORLD WAR III

Another bit of wisdom displayed in the formulation of this Charter for the G. I. G., is embodied in the principle that "the protection of dependent peoples is a sacred trust for mankind and the League of Nations mandate system should be continued and improved." And, of course, the "Japanese mandated islands should be placed under mandate of members of the United Nations with the greatest security interest in the Pacific." It is implied that the prospective expansion of the American and the British Empires in Asia and the Pacific is the most effective prophylactic against World War III. Evidently, statesmen of the countries endowed with the power of the sword are living in a palace of art. They are happy to believe that millions of human beings the world over are as blind as themselves to the reality that the continuation of colonies, dependencies, and other enslaved territories is the surest anticipation of, and the profoundest urge for, World-War III.

Round the World

Turkey and Self-Determination—

The advocates of self-determination and autonomy for minorities in our country should realise that in practical politics this has led to the weakening of states and to the machinations of agents of Foreign Powers who tamper with the loyalty of minorities. Thus the solidarity of a nation is lost in favour of its enemies.

The Turks have been shrewd enough to see through the dubious claims of self-determination and bold enough to deal with dissident minorities ruthlessly. The collapse of Turkey in World War I led to a feverish attempt at imperialist expansion (at the expense of the Ottoman Empire) on the part of Great Britain, France and other Allied Powers. Great Britain and France were determined to increase the number of their colonies in Asia by deliberately dismembering the Ottoman Empire. It was a sinister attempt to weaken Turkey—to cripple an Asiatic Power. One of the high-water marks of this game of duplicity and treachery was the hypocritical formula discovered by the Allies of self-determination for the minorities—for the Kurds, Armenians etc. In order to put this into practice, the greatest indignities were heaped upon Turkey with impunity and with a shameless disregard for historical facts. No wonder that the Turks were not in love with "self-determination."

The Kurds are an Indo-Iranian people with their head-quarters in Turkey at Bitlis in the Vilayet of Lake Van (Van Göolu). They speak an Iranian dialect and are separatists in their tendencies. Under the guise of 'self-determination' foreign agents have always tried to whip up resentment and hatred amongst them against their Turkish neighbours. Likewise the Armenians, who have busied themselves with financial manipulation, constitute another important minority. The Greeks, especially the rich Phanariote Greeks of Constantinople, who had formed an integral part of Turkish life for centuries and who had peopled the Western Coastal districts, where there had been admixture between Greeks and Turks, were also seduced by the Foreign Powers. As Christians they had had a special position in the Ottoman Empire under the capitulations and the Western Allies incited them to revolt against the Turks and to carve out districts in Asia Minor for themselves where they could set up an independent Hellenic Kingdom. There was, thus, to be a great Hellenic Empire in Asia Minor—under the historical and imposing name of Ionia—with Smyrna as its metropolitan centre. The crafty Venizelos had outlined this scheme at Versailles.

When Turkey was liberated from her enemies by the nationalist forces of Atatürk and the Battles of Ushak, Tunlu Punar and Afion Kara Hissar had set the final seal on her national regeneration, particular care was taken by the new Turkish Government to see that the minorities, stimulated by slogans of self-determination, did not secede or allow themselves to become unconscious agents of foreign intrigues. Kemal Pasha—Atatürk realised very clearly and very forcibly—for there were uprisings amongst the Kurds incited by foreign agents during his regime—that the slogan of self-determination under the hypocritical camouflage of democracy was only a sinister device of the foreign enemies of the Turkish people. Therefore he propounded the doctrine of an undivided secular state where all would be Turks.

Resurgent Asia—

All through the 19th century national, patriotic passions were simmering under the surface in Asia. It was especially so in the case of Western Asia and India. 1857 marked an epoch in India; earlier Butrus Bustani and Ibrahim al Yazeji had stimulated the Arabs of the Levant to new feelings of nationhood and cohesion by their writings and by their actions. It was the century of that great Asiatic—Syed Jamal-ud-din al Afghani—who untiringly urged the Asiatic nations to beware of the menace of Europe and spread his inspiring message from the Indus to the Bosphorus. His able disciple, Mohammed Abduh, stirred the patriotic life of Egypt by his fervent speeches and writings. Unceasingly they spoke of the menace of Europe—of the greed and land-hunger of the Europeans, of that itch for domination which had started with the Crusades in the Middle Ages.

The 20th century sees greater strivings and a greater ferment. The passionate desire for freedom has spread to the Far East—to Indonesia and to Indo-China. No self-respecting nation can lie quiescent under political and economic domination, but the careers of the Dutch and the French who refuse to realise the depth of new ideas and new forces are marked by gracelessness and stupidity. The Dutch, for instance, have tremendous vested interests in Java and very late in the day they have been offering a lame and halting autonomy to the Javanese; a self-respecting patriot like Dr. Soekarno does not naturally believe in the hypocritical and unctuous promises of the Dutch. It is a tragic commentary on the strange, nay perverse, psychology of the Dutch and the French that they who have been themselves under the domination of the Germans and have known what subjection means should be so eager to deny all vestiges of freedom to the Javanese and the Annamese and to crush with force the legitimate aspirations of these nations.

Palestinian Tragedy—

Events in Palestine are rapidly and inexorably moving towards a climax. Mr. Truman's pronouncements have added to the difficulties of the situation by indirectly stimulating large-scale Jewish immigration; but this immigration is of a clandestine nature—it is infiltration on a vast scale; the Arabs will have none of it and this time the Palestinian Arabs have received the support of the whole Arab World and the Arab League is behind them. The Arabs and the Jews have lived peaceably together side by side for centuries—even when Palestine formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. The ambitions of the Zionists after World War I and the fulfilment of these ambitions in the introduction of non-indigenous (European) Jews have promoted strife in a restricted small country of an area of 200 miles by 60 miles. The British have conveniently forgotten to implement the promises made to the Arabs by Lawrence of Arabia, in return for Arab support during World War I. It passes all understanding why the Jews shun Brazil and other Latin American Republics and the endless, wide, open and sparsely-inhabited regions of British Dominions like Canada and Australia. The small and attenuated area of Palestine is surely the best possible answer to that sentiment which has been capitalised in Zionist Propaganda by depicting Palestine as the spiritual home *par excellence* of the Jews; but in this hard world material homes are better than spiritual ones and in any case the land in Palestine cannot support very many people.

Greek Claims—

The *Enosis* Movement (*i.e* Union with the Mother Country) has a vast following among Greeks outside Greece—irredentist Greeks and others. The Mediterranean Island of Cyprus is the stronghold of this movement for union. Cyprus, originally a Turkish possession, is now under British rule, received as gift from the Ottoman Empire in return for British protection against Czarist Russia. The Greeks of Cyprus, however, find alien rule irksome and through the *Enosis* Movement have been clamouring for independence under the aegis of their mother-country. The Enosis is not confined to Cyprus alone but has spread actually to the mainland—especially amongst irredentist Greeks of Albania. In this the irredentists have the support of the Greek Government who have strongly reiterated the claim for union of the 'very Hellenic North Epirus' with the mother country. How this will affect Greek relations with the provisional Albanian Government remains to be seen. It may create a spark in the Balkans; on the other hand, it may strengthen Greek cohesion.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Indians in British Industries.—By H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A. (Bengal), pp. 74. Price Rupee 1-4. Saraswati Library, Calcutta.

This is a book by a well-known publicist and social worker who has devoted his time and energy to the scientific study of Indian economic problems in relation to economic welfare. The fundamental problem with which the book is concerned is the assessment of the material advantages which India has derived from the investment of British Capital in Indian industries. The author concludes from a study of the conditions of work in jute mills, tea plantations and coal mines that though India has benefited from the development of these industries due to the pioneering enterprise of British Capital, at the same time there have been a number of irritating disadvantages to counterbalance this gain. Indians who are likely to derive benefit from the activities of the British Capitalists are divided into five classes: wage earners, producers of raw materials, men qualified to act as executives and directors of business concerns, the investing public and the service-hunting intelligentsia. The author's finding is that the wages paid to the labourers have been meagre, the amenities provided for factory labour in mills and plantations have been inadequate and the price secured by the Indian producer of raw materials has been proportionately low, having regard to the profits earned by the British Capitalists. Nor have the Indian Capitalists, and the service-hunting intelligentsia derived "that benefit from these British-owned and British-controlled industries to which they believe they are entitled" (p. 8). These facts account for much of the Indian hostility to British business interests who are therefore exhorted, by the author to invite the co-operation of Indians of all classes in the development of India's material resources.

In presenting his thesis the author has produced an interesting and readable book, well documented with extensive quotations from authoritative sources. The reviewer noticed only one misprint on page 57, line 12.

J. P. NIYOGI

India's Sterling Position and the War.—By Prof. Bimalendu Dhar, M.A., B.L., Lecturer in Economics, Ripon College, Calcutta. Published by Co-Operative Book Depot, 54, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 3.

In the seven chapters into which the book is divided, Prof. Dhar who, it appears, has written for the general public, has assumed that his reader is no regularly trained economist—an attitude which has added considerably to its readability. After explaining the sterling debts and credits of India, the methods adopted by the British administration for the repatriation of the former, so that almost overnight India passed from a debtor to a creditor nation, the author has compared them with the technique of the Empire countries and, in conclusion, has given his idea about the future of our sterling assets.

Prof. Dhar has put what we regard as abstruse economic facts and ideas with admirable clarity and has adopted the praiseworthy detached attitude of the scholar in his treatment of an admittedly controversial subject. This, however, has not stood in the way of speaking out unpleasant truths where necessary.

Published in the final quarter of 1944, this book is concerned mainly with the repatriation question but since that time the problem of the utilisation of our sterling assets has assumed greater importance in view of the almost universal Indian demand for the all-round industrialisation of our country. It is suggested that the author should give the Indian public his detailed ideas on this aspect of the matter.

The Gospel of Saint Amery.—By "Jove," with a Foreword by Mr. K. M. Munshi. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 94. Price Rs. 2.

Mr. Joseph John whose entertaining contributions to the *Social Welfare* of Bombay have been so attractive a feature of that weekly has earned a deserved reputation as a rising journalist. When one finds his signed editorials and notes on the current political and social problems of the day in the above weekly, all characterised by penetrating insight and courage in giving expression to his views, one is inclined to believe that he is one of those sober and grave men who are constitutionally incapable of indulging in fun and laughter. And when as "Jove" he interprets the more striking events of the day in his own inimitably humorous way, it is difficult to believe that the notes and the editorials have come from his pen.

The book under review consists of thirty skits and deal with the more important events which occurred in 1942-44. Fundamentally, they are the reactions of Indian nationalism to them. Nor do they lose any of their force because the criticisms are put in a humorous way. On the other hand, the impression left on the reader is that, in almost every case, laughter conceals tears and apparent merriment, grief, if not resentment. But to appreciate them, the sketches have to be read not continuously and all at once but in instalments so that one might relish what he reads.

So various are the forms in which the skits appear, so numerous their subject-matter and so different the angles from which the events are viewed, that it is difficult to indicate in any except a very general way the contents of this very entertaining book. As regards the forms we find monologues, dialogues, allegories, parodies, narratives, and the like. In more than four of the skits, "Jove" exposes the political hypocrisy of British statesmen; the achievements of Lord

Linlithgow and of Mr. Amery are dealt with at least half a dozen times; the members of the Expanded Executive Council are told about five times the light in which they and their activities are viewed by the majority of their countrymen, while the Bengal Famine appears to have made so deep an impression on his sensitive mind that he returns to it again and again and makes clear where the responsibility lies. It must gratify the author to find that the views expressed by him have been generally confirmed by the findings of the Committee appointed by Government to investigate into it. If in one contribution he uses the technical language of cricket in describing an important political event like the Teheran Conference, in others he is found using the language of the Bible and the Prayer Book to castigate the type of imperialism for which Mr. Amery stands, and the members of the Executive Council for the pursuit of personal ends. In another instance, he utilises the language of Edmund Burke to hold up Mr. Winston Churchill to shame before his readers.

Altogether an admirable book; it is markd by deep sincerity and certainly possesses more than a passing interest.

Poverty and Social Change.—By Tarlok Singh. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London, New York, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 3-8.

This study in the economic reorganisation of Indian rural society by a member of the Indian Civil Service in his private capacity has, as stated in the preface, one purpose only—the examination of the conditions under which only we may look for the removal of poverty from among the masses. That the problem has been studied thoroughly is clear from the fact that the data for it was collected by an examination of the economic conditions of nearly 1,200 families in Hissar, an insecure district of the Punjab, followed by inquiries conducted by the author in the Jhelum district and two canal colonies of the Punjab. Then came three visits paid to rural areas in three other provinces. Mr. Singh, who had arrived at certain conclusions of his own, tested the ir applicability by placing them before villagers, discussing them in all their aspects with these men. It was in the light gathered through them and after such modifications as were deemed necessary, obviously a long process, which we are told lasted for nearly seven years, that he has placed his ideas before those who feel the necessity of taking practical steps for the removal of one of the acutest of our economic problems.

What marks out this from other books dealing with the same problem is that, first, it makes no pretence of setting out a cut-and-dry solution of the rural problem nor does it offer a solution which demands a radical change in our social organisation. Its claims are more modest. In his language "it offers a framework of general ideas and principles which can serve perhaps as a preface to a plan of economic and social development conceived in the interest of the masses and based upon an understanding of the structure of rural society." No review, however, could do justice to their value which does not refer to the fact that these suggestions are not only highly practical but also that they can be immediately given effect to without undue disturbance of the existing rural organisation.

The first two chapters may be said to supply the background. The third chapter containing Mr. Singh's views on joint management, the fourth and the fifth ones dealing with the internal organisation and the place of the village in the industrial structure are remarkable for their grasp of the problem and ways of solving it while the fifth one supplies data to prove the practicability of implementing his plan.

An altogether admirable and thought-provoking book, this study should interest not only those specially interested in the problem of rural poverty but also the general reader.

The Truth About India—By M. D. Japheth. Published by the Diamond Printing Press, 164, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 86, Rs. 2-8-0.

Dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, this exceedingly well-written book is divided into eight sections, the first of which shows how the Indian struggle for freedom, was inevitable. The second shows how the situation called forth the man, to lead it and summarises the three occasions when it took an aggressive form. The third section analyses the implications of freedom and concludes that real freedom is freedom from self, "to be pursued with faith and practised with humility that implies not self-abnegation but self-realisation." The fourth section is devoted to explaining why it is that Mahatma Gandhi is "the biggest thing in India" and the reason and the extent of his influence over the India of to-day. The next two sections explain the nature of non-violence, the welcoming of suffering, and the psychological effect caused by the Gandhian technique of defeating an opponent. "Freedom of the Cross" is one of the best expositions the reviewer has come across in a fairly extensive study of Gandhian literature of the technique of fasting in the course of which the author very clearly proves that it is not political blackmail as held by some who have as yet failed to appreciate its inner significance. In the last section, Mr. Japheth shows that the freedom of India is so intimately bound up with calling into being a juster new world order that to deny it to her is tantamount to asking for world disorder—the unwisdom of which attitude is being proved daily by what we see around us.

Four things stand out clearly in this book. The first of these is that the author who is understood to be a youngman, who has a number of other books to his credit and who belongs to a minor minority, is no less a nationalist than members of larger social and religious groups. He typifies in himself the gradual change silently taking place among the younger generation which is coming

to realise the harmfulness of communalism. The second thing is his intense admiration for our great national leader, an admiration founded on the leadership supplied by him in the struggle for freedom and the unique techniques devised by him for conducting it. The third thing is that he has studied these techniques, and thought over them carefully so that he is able to explain their applicability to present-day conditions as well as their superiority to older methods. The fourth thing which stands not quite clearly in the concluding portion of the book is the desire of that section of the younger generation he represents for an understanding with Britain on terms just and fair to both.

Mr. Japheth has a clear and delightful style and knows how to write entertainingly. He possesses the enviable knack of dealing attractively with such subjects as Ahimsa, Satyagraha, and the like, in the philosophy of which many people do not find interest.

Our Youth.—By Kamaladevi. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 62, Price Rs. 1-8-0.

From an introductory note supplied by the publishers, it appears that the authoress has adopted a nom de plume and that she is twenty-three. That she is highly educated, a keen observer of the profound changes which have come over our youth, that she has her explanation for them and would like to see their graceful acceptance by the elder generation are all evident. She writes well on such varying subjects as the " sins " of youth, its pleasures, the sexual problem, marriage, family life, religion, and politics and explains how the attitude of our youth towards them is conditioned by our system of education and our slavish acceptance of Western standards of conduct. It is towards the end of the book that the authoress pleads for a more rational approach to our difficulties.

Addressed to the youth of the middle class intelligentsia, this book will shock many of the older generation who would prefer to maintain the *status quo*. Its value lies in the very clear manner in which it proves the futility of such an attitude. The writer wields a graceful and convincing pen. The reviewer is not in a position to express any opinion as to whether the authoress can, as the publishers state cook and sew better than she can write but, if so, she must indeed be one in a million.

Capitalist and the Consumer.—By Fred Henderson. Pp. 156. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, Price 4 shs. 6d.

Mr. Henderson who has already made his mark through his earlier contributions to socialistic literature, the most outstanding among which is probably his *Economic Consequences of Power Production*, has given us in this book yet another popularly written challenge to the capitalistic organisation of society basing his findings on his interpretations of consumer economics. After explaining the implications of cost of productions and the iniquity of the existing system under which the capitalist appropriates the whole of the produced output of labour through what he indirectly implies to be nothing but financial jugglery, the author insists that the consumer purpose should be dominant in human economy. He proves this by drawing attention to the fact that scarcity economy was forced on man when he was the only source of all motive power, that an age of plenty is thrust on us by power production, and that the attempt to limit production to ensure profits is due to the selfishness of capitalism, in other words, that poverty in the midst of plenty is man-made. The remedy for this he finds in " social ownership of our natural resources and in planned co-operative social activity in producing supplies from them."

While covering much the same ground as other champions of economic justice, Mr. Henderson has developed a telling technique of his own, which carries conviction all along the line and a happy faculty of putting what are generally regarded as abstruse economic ideas in a manner easily comprehended by the man in the street.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Rebuilding Liberated Russia.—By Professor N. Voronin. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 102.

This is a reprint of a book which, when originally published in England, attracted a good deal of notice. Divided into twelve chapters, it gives vivid descriptions, fortified by statistical information, of the damage inflicted by the Germans during their retreat from the U.S.S.R. This is given in term of the injuries inflicted in the rural areas and in the larger and more important towns. The figures, impressive as they are, naturally leave a feeling of vagueness behind them in Indian readers who have no knowledge of the places themselves. The reviewer, however, was interested to learn something of the care taken of the children by the U.S.S.R., and the importance attached by it to the restoration of colleges, research institutes, museums, etc.

The publishers have described the book as " a practical guide to reconstruction in India ". This title is applicable to it in the sense that it proves how much can be done by the people themselves and that only when there is unanimity among them.

" PEREGRINE PICKLE. "

The following books have been recently received and will be reviewed in due course :—

1. "Geography of An Air Age"—By E. G. R. Taylor (Published by Royal Institute of International Affairs).
2. "On Indian History"—By Dhurjatiprasad Mukerji (Published by Hind Kitabs).
3. "The British Commonwealth and the World"—By Richard Frost (Published by Royal Institute of International Affairs).
4. "Can Planning Be Democratic?"—By H. Morrison, B. Wooffon, T. W. Agar. C. E. M. Joad, Joan Robinson, G. D. H. Cole (Published by Vora & Co.).
5. "Planning Economic Transition from War to Peace in India"—By V. K. R. V. Rao, Ph.D. (Cantab.) (Published by Vora & Co.).
6. "Education in India in the XX Century"—By S. N. Mukerji (Published by Padmaja Publications).
7. "Back to Saniy"—By Y. G. Krishnamurti (Published by Basrur Brothers).
8. "Transformation of Sikhism"—By Sir Gokulchand Narang (Published by New Book Society).
9. "A Symposium on Post-war Education in India"—Edited by T. K. N. Menon (Published by Padmaja Publication).
10. "India Speaking"—By Manilal B. Nanavati and C. N. Vakil (Published by Vora & Co.).

Ourselves

LECTURE SCHEME ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE SPONSORED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR U. S. ARMY, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

A two-day programme of an intensive course of lectures on Indian Historical and Cultural subjects for personnel of the U. S. Armed Forces in the India-Burma—China Theatre, organised by the Department of Educational Facilities for U. S. Army, Calcutta University, in conjunction with the USAFI, Calcutta, was gone through on the 28th and 29th September, 1945.

The scheme was inaugurated on the 28th September in the Darbhanga Hall of the University by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. Dr. Radhabinod Pal, Vice-Chancellor, who was unable to be present on account of ill-health, sent a cordial message stressing the importance and need of Indo-American Cultural Relations.

Dr. Mookerjee in his stirring inauguration speech emphasised the greatness of the age-old culture of India and the necessity for foreigners for properly assessing and appreciating that culture. He advised his hearers to approach Indian Culture in a proper spirit and with an open mind and not to be prejudiced from the very start by any tendencious propaganda. He asked them not to be led away by any antipathy on account of the scenes of wretchedness, squalor and poverty which they witness on every side and which are superficially ascribed to the faults of the people but which are really the concomitants of foreign rule and subjection. Only the most superficial and ignorant would dislike people and look down on them on account of difference of colour, creed or race; inferiority based on colour is an exploded myth; it has been proved now that intelligence and culture are things which really count and nothing else. Dr. Mookerjee appealed to his hearers not to be like certain travellers who toured India in three months and then went back home and wrote books of 3000 pages, thereby becoming experts on India. The world was now almost one-world; distances had been eliminated; the world had grown smaller; it was, therefore, absolutely necessary that peoples of all nations should come closer together and appreciate each other's culture. India had not only things of the spirit to give to other nations but she could show also new things in science and technology; inspite of subjection to foreign rule she still possessed devoted scientists and workers, who, although hindered by limitations, carried out important original researches. In many new and important branches of Science and Industry India was working selflessly, thus giving a lie to those who forever talked about only the spiritual contributions of India and underrated her other potentialities.

Lectures were delivered on Indian History, Philosophy, Art, Culture (including Islamic History and Culture), Indian Education, Industries and Economics. The lecturers on these varied topics included Prof. Benoy Sarkar, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Saroj Das, Dr. N. C. Roy, Mr S. K. Dutt, Mr. S. K. Chowdhry, Mr. D. P. Ghosh (Curator, Asutosh Museum), Mr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, Dr. Amiya Chakravarti and others. Sixteen Lectures on different topics were delivered.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

PALIT PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY

Applications are invited for the post of Palit Professor of Chemistry.

The Professor shall receive a salary in the scale of Rs. 700-50/2-1000 and shall be entitled to the benefit of the University Provident Fund, so long as he will remain in service. A higher initial salary may, however, be paid to a properly qualified person.

He shall be appointed in the first instance for five years after which the appointment may be renewed for another term or it may be made permanent.

The duties attached to the post and the conditions governing the appointment are given in detail in the University Calendar for 1942 (pp. 80-81).

Candidates who must be Indians (*i.e.*, persons born of Indian parents) must be scholars of high repute and must have extensive research work to their credit.

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research and also in guiding research work in their applications indicating therein in which particular branches of Chemistry the researches have been carried out. The applications should be accompanied by a precis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form to be obtained from the undersigned.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the undersigned on or before the 31st December, 1945.

Senate House,
The 29th September, 1945.

S. K. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

SIR R. B. GHOSE PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY

Applications are invited for the post of Sir Rashbehari Ghose Professor of Chemistry. The appointment is for two years in a leave vacancy with prospect of being made permanent. The Professor will receive a salary in the scale of Rs. 700-50/2-1000. A higher initial salary may, however, be paid to a properly qualified person.

Candidates who must be Indians (*i e.* persons born of Indian parents), must be scholars of high repute and must have extensive research work to their credit.

The duties attached to the post and the conditions governing the appointment are given in detail in the University Calendar for 1942 (pp. 113-114).

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research and also in guiding research work in their applications, indicating therein in which particular branches of Chemistry their researches have been carried out. The applications should be accompanied by a precis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form which may be obtained from the undersigned.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the undersigned on or before the 31st December, 1945.

Senate House,
The 29th September, 1945.

S. K. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

GEORGE V PROFESSOR OF MENTAL AND MORAL SCIENCE

Applications are invited for the post of George V Professorship of Mental and Moral Science in the grade of Rs. 700-50/2-1,000 with benefit of Provident Fund. The maximum salary to the grade or a higher salary may be given to a specially qualified candidate.

Appointment may, in the first instance, be made for 5 years, the probationary period being 2 years. The appointment may be renewed for another term or made permanent by the Senate. The Professor, who shall be a whole-time officer of the University, will be entitled to academic vacations and holidays and shall be subject to leave and other rules framed by the Senate from time to time.

Rules governing the Professorship will be found in page 72 of the University Calendar for 1942

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research and also in guiding research work. Precis of the particulars should also be forwarded, form for which may be obtained from the undersigned.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the undersigned on or before the 31st December, 1945.

Senate House,
The 2nd October, 1945.

B. B, DUTT.
Registrar (Offg.).

COUNCIL OF POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTICE

M.A. Examinations in English for 1946 and 1947

It is hereby notified for general information that the following changes have been made in the Text Books for the M.A. Examinations in English for 1946 and 1947.

M.A. Examination, 1946

Paper II—*Drama*

Ben Jonson—*Everyman in his Humour* or *Volpone.*

M.A. Examination, 1947

(*a*) Paper III—*Poetry*

Spenser—*Faerie Queen* BK. II has been recommended in place of Spenser's Minor Poems (which is not available) for the M.A. Examination for 1947.

(*b*) Paper IV—*Prose*

Lamb—Essays of Elia, First Series is dropped.

ASUTOSH BUILDINGS,
The 4th September, 1945.

S. N. MITRA,
Secretary.

A MASTER OF SURGERY

The undermentioned candidate whose thesis was commended by the Board of Honorary Examiners and who was admitted to the examination for the M.S. degree, having passed at the written, oral and clinical examinations, is admitted to the degree of Master of Surgery. The title of his thesis is stated against his name.

Name	Title of the Thesis
Ajitkumar Basu	A Study of the Longitudinal Arch of the Foot.

Senate House,
The 24th August, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

DOCTORS OF SCIENCE

The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below.

Name	Title of the Thesis
Bidyutkamal Bhattacharyya ...	(1) Synthetic investigation in Perhydrophenanthrene group. (2) Synthetic investigation in Terpenes, (3) Synthetical investigations in Resin Acids and (4) Synthetical investigations on the degradation product of Biglandulinic Acid.

Senate House,
The 24th August, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below :

Name	Title of the Thesis
Ilabanta Banerji ...	Studies in the Cytology and Morphology of Angiosperms.

Senate House,
The 7th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

A DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below :

Name	Title of the Thesis
Anukulchandra Banerji ...	Sarvastivada School and its Literature.

Senate House,
The 14th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

DATES OF EXAMINATIONS

The First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examinations, November, 1945, and the next Diploma in Spoken English Examination will commence on the following dates. The last dates for the submission of applications and fees to the undersigned for admission to the examinations are also given below against each :

Examinations	Date of commencement	Last date of submission of application and fees.
1. First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examinations, November, 1945. ...	Monday, 26th November, 1945. ...	Thursday, 8th November, 1945.
2. Diploma in Spoken English Examination. ...	Monday, 1st April, 1946 ...	Thursday, 3rd January, 1946.

N.B.—Applications and fees must be submitted together. A delay fee of [Rs. 5 only be charged for each fee or application received after the last date.

Senate House,
The 14th September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

ADMISSION TO THE B.Sc. EXAMINATION CANCELLED

Under orders of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, the admission to the B.Sc. Examination, 1945, of the following candidates has been cancelled and they have been debarred from appearing at any University Examination before 1948, as they got themselves admitted into the 4th-year B.Sc. Class of the City College by fraudulent means :—

Kusalchandra Das, Roll Cal. N. 162, Regd. No. 8753 of 1940-41.
Jatindranath Datta, Roll Cal. N. 165, Regd. No. 1292 of 1941-42.

It has been further directed that if the candidates seek admission to the examination again, they will have to rejoin college from 1946.

Senate House,
The 1st June, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.)

ADDITIONAL RESULTS OF MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1945

1. In addition to the candidates whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, July, 1945, as having passed the Matriculation Examination held in March, 1945, the following candidates are also declared to have passed the Matriculation Examination, 1945 :—

Roll Number	*Name*	*Age*	*Division*
Dar. P. 12	Nabi Ahmed	20-3	Third
Mid. 959	Phanindranath Pattanayak Mayurbhanj S. S. J. H. E. School	18-6	Third

Senate House,
The 4th October, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

2. In addition to the candidates whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, July, 1945, as having passed the Matriculation Examination held in March, 1945, the following candidate is also declared to have passed the Matriculation Examination, 1945, in Bengali Major Vernacular, Arithmetic and Domestic Science including Domestic Hygiene, and Elementary Hygiene :—

Radharani Mukhopadhyay (Private student, Roll Bhow, F.P. 491).

Senate House,
The 9th October, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

ADDITIONAL RESULTS OF B.Sc. EXAMINATION, 1945

In addition to the candidates whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, August, 1945, as having passed the B.Sc. Examination held in March, 1945, the undermentioned candidates are also declared to have passed the examination :—

B.Sc. EXAMINATION

(HONOURS)

ZOOLOGY

Class I

Mukhopadhyay, Piyushansusekhar ... Non-Collegiate Student (Roll Cal. N. 930).

PASSED (Distinction)

Sengupta, Prasantakumar ... Scottish Church College

PASS COURSE

Chattopadhyay, Jagannath ... Asutosh College.

Senate House,
The 9th October, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

ADDITIONAL RESULT OF INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN ENGINEERING

In addition to the candidates whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, September, 1945, as having passed the Intermediate Examination in Engineering held in August, 1945, the following candidate is also declared to have passed the Intermediate Examination in Engineering, August, 1945 :—

72. Datta Tapankumar (Non-collegiate Student, Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur).

Senate House,
The 3rd September, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

REGISTERED GRADUATES

It is hereby notified that graduates of the prescribed standing, who have not yet registered their names in this University and who intend to take part in the ensuing election of three Ordinary Fellows by the Registered Graduates in January, 1946 should register their names on or before the 10th November, 1945. No voting paper for the ensuing election of the Ordinary Fellows will be issued to such graduates as will register their names after the aforesaid date.

Senate House,
The 12th November, 1945.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

MATHEMATICS

The Khandakhadyaka with Prithudaka's Commentary, Edited by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 170. 1941. Rs. 2-8.

Caturveda Prithudaka Svamin's commentary on the text is a valuable work on Hindu Astronomy. It reveals important points in the history of Indian Mthematics and Astronomy, more especially on the use of the Decimal system of notation with the symbol for Zero in Arithmetical operations. The whole book is printed in Devnagri types.

The Science of the Sulva (A study in early Hindu Geometry), by Bibhutibhushan Datta, D.Sc. Demy 8vo. pp. 262. Rs. 3-0.

Surya-Siddhanta (a text-book of Hindu Astronomy), translated by Rev. Ebenezer Burges with Notes and an Appendix. Reprinted from the edition of 1860. Edited by Phanindralal Gangooly, M.A., B.L., and with an introduction by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 474. Rs. 7-0.

Ancient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 60. Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Hannah in the domain of Chronology and Computation of Time in Ancient Egypt, as well as other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.

XI. SCIENCE

SCIENCE

Journal of the Department of Science (Ten volumes published). Each vol. up to Vol. X, Rs. 4-8.

Journal of the Department of Science (New Series) (numbers 1-4 of Vol. I published). Each number Rs. 2-0.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Vol. II, Science. Royal 8vo. pp. 484. Rs. 11-4. (For contents see pages 153-157.)

1. PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

* **Progress of Physics,** by A. Schuster, D.Sc. Demy 8vo. pp. 174. Rs. 3-15

It traces the changes due to the sequence of discoveries in the domain of Physical Sciences during 1875-1908.

* **Theory of Electro-Magnetism,** by G. J. Walker M. A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Demy 8vo. pp. 60. 3-6.

Slightly damaged copies at reduced price Rs. 2-0.

The book puts some of the most important developments of electro-magnetic theory into a connected and convenient form.

* **Optical Theories,** by D. N. Mallik, B.A., Sc.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 191. Rs. 8-1.

The book traces the development of optical theories from the earliest times to the present day. Its subject-matter being the one great general problem of modern Physics, it will be really helpful to understand the relation between the different theories, so that one may be clear as to how much is known for certain and how much is mere speculation.

† **The Principle of Relativity,** by M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., and S. N. Bose, M.Sc. (with a Historical Introduction by P. C. Mahalanobis). Demy 8vo. pp. 248. Rs. 4-8. English rendering of the original papers by A. Einstein and H. Minkowski.

* The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies of the book may be had of the firm.

† The sale of the book is restricted within India.

Molecular Diffraction of Light, by Sir C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., N.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 113. Rs. 3-0.

In this book the author discusses the classical theory of the molecular scattering of light in all refractive media, including in a comprehensive survey, the case of gases, vapours, liquids, crystals, and amorphous solids.

Lectures on Wave Mechanics, by Prof. A. Sommerfeld, D.Sc., F.R.S. D/C. 16mo. pp. 128. Rs. 2-0.

Organic Theo-compounds, by Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 74. Re. 1-8.

2. BOTANY

Vanaspati (Hindu Knowledge of Botany and its application to the Sciences of Medicine and Agriculture, Griffith Memorial Prize Essay for 1925), by Girijaprasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 274. Rs. 3-12.

The work has been divided into three parts:—

Book I—Botany and Philosophic Speculations.

,, II—Botany and Science of Medicine.

,, III—Botany and Science of Agriculture.

" .....The information culled and presented in a systematic and readable form by the author shows how close and accurate was the study of the many phases of Plant-life even at that remote period though necessarily fragmentary and in many cases speculative .....Even as such many of the ideas bear a remarkably modern outlook."—Journal, Indian Botanical Society, viii, 1929.

" This book, based on all available Sanskrit literature, gives the status of plant knowledge in ancient India. It includes many quotations (in Sanskrit and translated into English) of references to morphology, physiology, ecology, taxonomy and evolution—there are many passages that indicate a fair knowledge of fundamental principles. Social emphasis is placed on the use of plants in medicine and agriculture, both of which arts were fairly well developed."—Biological Abstracts (U.S.A.), iv. 1930.

" The essay embodies not merely a collection of fragments of early speculation on plant-life but a critical survey of the botanical knowledge of the Hindus and its application to Medicine and Agriculture, in the search-light of modern science. The author has, with the grasp of a trained botanist, succeeded in marshalling evidence to show clear indications of possession by the ancient Hindus of such knowledge of plant-life as prognosticate the dawn of science."—Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis.

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A NEW BASIS FOR HISTORICAL ENQUIRY

M. C. SAMADDAR, M.A.,
Editor, Bihar Herald, Patna

I

ANY history should be a science that would treat historical incidents and developments as phenomena and would try to explain them in the same manner that a scientist would attempt the explanation of natural phenomena. Causes and effects would be the sequence instead of mere chronology. The latter itself would take the form of stages in social evolution instead of being a mere sequence or points in time. Dynastic changes or wars should lose the importance they have except as marking tense moments in the social drama that the evolution of society has been.

The above enunciation, wordy as it is, may sound pedantic and platitudinous. So let me be frank about my intentions. Conceiving society as dynamic I feel the need for a progressive movement. A step has to be taken forward to solve the necessities of the situation. But for determining the necessities or their satisfaction, or the step forward, a comprehensive outlook of history is necessary. Before we leap forward, we must look back, see what has taken place, and what the logic of evolution indicates as our next plausible development. Such a comprehensive view of the past, sociologically, would be history proper. In Marxist parlance it has been generally described as "Historical Materialism." I am one of those who generally avoid using Marxist jargons and try to state things in common usage—popularly understandable—so that Marxism may not be "raised" to the dubious dignity of mysticism. In a scientific discussion, however, the needs of precision and frequent repetition dictate more conventional terminology.

I can imagine an objection that the *a priori* attitude I have adopted as the reason for a new history of India detracts from the pure scientific method. There is, however, no reason why sociological considerations should impair historical authenticity and impartiality. It is possible to follow the strictly scientific method of examining Indian history in isolation—but not complete isolation. The latter would reduce scientific study to an abstraction. Even following the strictest scientific method, we have to link up the logic of the study in isolation at the two ends—the beginning and present-day of Indian society—with empirical verification as far as possible. The purposes of the scientific historian and the political worker are not necessarily at variance. The difference is only in placing the emphasis.

If we admit a dynamic society—and that conception alone makes the historical analysis we are setting out to do possible or justifiable—we have to take the evolutionary view of history. Each development was the satisfaction of the necessities of the previous stage. In fact the advanced stage always grew out of a tendency to solve the contradictions or anomalies of the previous stage. This reduces the gap between the outlook of the historian and the political worker still further.

So far for our outlook and the essential unity of the scientific or political approach. After a detached examination of the evolution of society, the historian becomes convinced that the logic of evolution demands socialism. The political worker observing the necessities of present-day society, seeks guidance in the social dynamics as studied by the historian and draws his conclusion that socialism has to be achieved. One is complementary to the other.

The dynamics of social evolution or change are frequently referred to in Marxist literature as dialectics. Another word is very much in danger of becoming an abstraction, but an appreciation of its content is extremely necessary for any enquiry into Indian history.

Change or to be more definite, progress, can be measured in terms of material welfare, or improvement in ways of living. No other estimation of the relative merits of two stages admits of "reading," or is, therefore, reliable. Without reliable and "readable" data no scientific enquiry is possible. Spiritual and idealistic estimation of progress cannot be made, for there is no basis for comparisons. You cannot measure religious, ethical or spiritual ideas except in terms of material benefit they could be expected to secure to society. So material comparisons being the only safe guides, history has to adopt them if it is going to be scientific.

Material welfare means large productivity so that more can be shared round. Productivity can be increased only through improvements in technology, *i.e.*, means of production. An improvement in the means of production means overcoming some obstacles or satisfying certain needs. All improvements in the means of production proceed directly out of the experience of the working of the previous means of production and observation of its shortcomings and of satisfying the need for more or a particular kind of goods. The process is very similar to biological evolution—one order growing out of another.

The earliest human beings were gatherers. They satisfied their needs—then only hunger—by gathering fruits and berries. This occupied man the entire day and allowed no provision for off-days. Very little surplus could be created, for fruits and berries could not be carried and stocked as man had no appliances for such savings. With more experience by riversides man collected snails and other riverine edibles. Still the difficulty of procuring enough regularly and every day induced man to start eating the kills of the carnivorous animals. While at the meat stage too man had to spend most of his time searching (at the stage of society, searching was working) for food, it was possible for him to make a full meal at a kill and not be continuously eating as in the farinaceous stage. This gave him time to find out by trial and error ways and means to an easier life. He started *observing* animal ways.

Meat gathering led to hunting, in the first instance with such crude implements as just stones. His range was increased; it was not his armlength but the extent to which his muscles could throw a stone to kill an animal. Development of stereoscopic vision became a necessity for him and he developed it. He could not aim a throw successfully without it. There was a release of muscles from his forehead and there was a quick development in his intelligence.

The point in illustration here is not the physical or mental development of man but the growth of hunting from the meat-gathering stage. Man could

not learn hunting while he was at the fruits and berries stage. This continuity in evolution is of great importance in dialectics. It must be looked for throughout subsequent social changes.

Now we shall see the later evolution of humanity proceeding out of hunting. Even at the meat-gathering stage man not having the canines as good as the carnivora felt the need of scrapers to take the meat off the bones. The scraper was a tool. In the first instance it might have been just a handy stone. But its use called for certain amount of selection in "handiness" and shape. Selection was an exercise of intelligence and had a train of developments proceeding out of it. The successors to the "eo-liths" were real tools. They were increasingly made—that is stone was fashioned to purpose. The manufacture of tools was the creation of a means of production—it was a technological advance apart from being able to influence human physical development (mental included) through improvement in prehensility.

Throughout the world stone-age relics are generally flint. Stone flakes and chips are better than any other. It could be curved into scrapers and could fit in the ape-like hollow of primitive man. Making tools from stones, particularly flint, led to the discovery of fire-making. Man was already aware of fire in the forests from natural causes and the effect it created on food, especially meat. Now he could sometimes create fire himself. Subsequently he could create it frequently but not as infallibly as with a modern match-box. So he had to evolve means to keep fire—supply it with dry twigs and tend it. Here a division of labour took place between man and woman (obviously because of woman's long period of gestation) and the total hunting or labour power of the community was reduced.

Therefore men had to work more than to just feed themselves. They had to carry food for the women who kept the fire. This was the first production of surplus value and probably matrilineal society culminated here. To produce this surplus man had to improve the methods of hunting (or the means of production). The bow and arrow was invented—the first stone ones are found near about the beginning of the neolithic period. Hunting by arrow created a tremendous increase in food supply; food could be "cooked"; the fire gave greater protection from wild animals and cold—result: population increased rapidly. The increase in population is borne by the evidences of migrations of neolithic and the abundance in which relics of their settlements can be found.

These developments indicate another aspect of social evolution. Improvements in technology or means of production exhaust their capacity to satis y the needs of the society and the need for fresh improvements to increase productivity becomes necessary. Each means of production creates new problems for society, whose solution leads to further progress. The discovery of fire-making led to an acute problem of man-power shortage for hunting. This logically called for improved means of hunting. The evolution of the arrow solved this, but created a fresh problem in the shape of increased population, man-shy animals and reduced supplies of game or animal food. Hunting by arrow also probably laid the first basis for the evolution of the patriarchal society by putting the male-sex in the position of being exclusive teachers of the operation of the means of production.

At this stage there must have been frequent days when the hunt yielded nothing or too little. From the gathering days man must have felt the necessity to store something for days on which no food could be procured. Now that problem and the problem of man-shy animals needed solution.

The solution was through domestication of animals. The accident of capture of wounded animals with young ones might have helped this development. Domestic animals became increasingly a means of production. At first only a provision for gameless days, the possession of larger flocks ensured

daily supplies of milk, meat and skins for clothing. There was a development of the arts and probably the origin of music at this stage.

To emphasise a point once more: the germ of domestication of animals lie in hunting. In fact it was the logical development of hunting. Hunting and domestication of animal mean man's subsistence on animal food. In the first instance after great exertions man is able to procure a little food; in the second or higher form man reduces his exertions and secures abundant supplies.

Domestication of animals created in its turn its own problems and potentialities. The flocks multiplied and on them the human population. The tribes roamed over the grasslands as they had never done before, but they became too many for the original home-land and large migrations took place. The tribal bonds started loosening and the nomads swarmed into new lands.

The possibilities were: More leisure than ever. A better understanding of the processes of nature. The lie of the land was known to them; the seasons and their changes and the change in grasses had to be noticed. Natural religion was growing up and from the knowledge of grasses and seasons domestication of wheat was a logical development.

The domestication of wheat led to agriculture (as distinct from the horticulture of the Egyptians and Babylonians). Fields were cultivated and supplies of food which could be stored was created. The population settled down and increased. More food was required and the domestication of animals and of wheat was fused. Domestic animals were put to ploughing of fields. Field agriculture was a new means of production and property in land was created. Field agriculture proceeds logically out of domestication of animals and led to Feudalism.

When the Aryans came into India they had domesticated animals. Soon they took up field agriculture. There is a certain amount of continuity in subsequent Indian history and the tracing of that in sociological terms should be our main task. The history of Europe has been worked out in detail in this manner. We shall have occasion to make frequent comparisons with Europe, for in Europe we get the typical developments with less interruptions than elsewhere. The fact that in India the classical pattern was not unfolded would be due to several reasons which it shall be our purpose to trace.

One of the frequent reasons for such interruptions was recurring foreign invasions. It is not clear how far foreign invasions upset social evolution in India. A very detailed analysis would be necessary and no superficial generalisations are possible. For it is not certain if after any foreign invasion except British a new means of production was introduced or there were wide changes in social relations. It is only possible that the coming in of new elements in the ruling classes gave them a fresh accession of strength. But how far could they prevent the ultimate economic crisis and break-up?

Whereas the social history of England can be described as a history of revolutions that of India can be best described as one of frustrations. At various periods in Indian history promises of rapid social evolution have been held out but they all seem to have petered out with time. Only in this context can we record progressive tendencies in ancient India. Their supposed existence in ancient days does not invest them with a halo; nor can it be argued that the objective striving of Indian society throughout the ages has been for an egalitarian society since that could not have been except in a very superficial generalised manner. That is no special credit to India for such has been the objective striving of entire humanity. Nor could the attitude be taken that progressive experiments had been tried in ancient India but experience proved them unsuitable for the obvious falsity of such an assertion.

The danger of a lack of proportion in this respect is great. Isolated instances of progressive or advanced ideas can be magnified and given disproportionate

importance. A safe guide would be to judge every thing from the simple fundamental assertion of materialism: that being determines consciousness. A society is capable of cultural achievement in direct measure to the means of production and affluence at its command. Progressive ideas are merely cognisance of the necessities of a situation; and so long as they remain mainly ideas and have not solved the necessities they can only be cited as instances of frustration.

Somewhere in this category would come Buddhism. It should be ranked higher than an isolated thinking for it became a movement. Its ultimate defeat needs great investigation. That cannot be ascribed to Shankaracharya for there must be strong reasons in the shape of the failure of Buddhism to solve economic problems of the age which would give Shankaracharya the success he did achieve.

Economic histories of India have been attempted but the interpretation of the word economic was rather archaic. Prices of grains and the mention of a few handicrafts are made in such studies. The importance of an economic view of history does not arise out of the fact that economics is a branch of study or knowledge. The importance lies in economic activity being the main and primary human activity. Man must live, to live he must have food. From gathering to machine production he has worked to satisfy his need for food and other things. Satisfaction of needs has called for economic activity and social organisation. Economic activity has therefore been the main *cohesive* factor in society. Since society is the collaboration of individuals, society becomes synonymous with economic activity. Besides for all other kinds of activity—religious, cultural, artistic or political—the population has to spare some of its production to maintain such a society. Offerings to God, tithes, taxes, stipends all come under such sparing of production. The sparing can be only done under circumstances of production of surplus and under a collective economic organisation.

Surplus value has been created ever since man became civilised, *i.e.*, the theocratic temple city civilisation of Egypt and Babylon or Mohenjodaro. His civilisation can be measured in terms of the surplus value created. As man has progressed he has created more surplus value and so with better economic resources the religious, cultural and political activity has expanded. The history of society thus becomes the creation of this surplus value and its re-investment in the economy. The prices etc. can come only as an index or illustration; the main considerations being productivity, the means of production, the investment and appropriation of the surplus value created.

The appropriation of the surplus value created leads us to a discussion of property relationship and here the growth of feudalism will have to be examined.

A tendency towards synthesis also seems to have been a feature of Indian feudalism. Buddhism was most likely combatted by a synthesis; Islam too and in modern times Indian society, essentially still feudal, seems to be attempting to synthesise industrialisation inspite of the fact that in Europe this transition was marked by a violent revolution.

Apart from this tendency towards synthesis the disintegration of feudalism seems not to have taken place in the same manner as in Europe.

At least a very detailed investigation in land tenure at various stages is very necessary. In that may be found the answer to the biggest poser of Indian history why did not a bourgeois revolution take place in India. Foreign invasion gives a partial reply. Though at first the British intervention in India was progressive, the competition of machine goods killed the native artisan class. This class might have in alliance with traders (who were oppressed by local consumption regulations) overthrown the feudal order. For some time the British

themselves seemed to be destroying feudalism but after the mutiny they gave legal sanction and protection to feudalism and religion. The British were satisfied with exploiting the limited existing market from which they had eliminated the native artisan producers. They did not try to alter the social order or property relations in land to increase purchasing power. They gave the highly organised coercive forces of a modern industrialised imperialist state as the sanction behind feudalism.

The subsequent disintegration of imperialism would need some discussion for the resitience of feudalism in India is the central point in our history for it threatens to survive capitalist imperialism.

In the discussion of the method of a new scientific historical enquiry made above two or three things have been emphasised:

Firstly, an evolutionary perspective implying that at any given period we shall not take society as static. It had grown out of one state of affairs and led to another. The causes that created the society at a particular period and the effects following out of that society subsequently have to be duly noticed;

Secondly, we shall evaluate social progress through material productivity and so shall try to, as far as possible, identify the means of production at each stage;

Thirdly, we shall follow the methods of biological evolutionary research, palaeontology and pre-history to a great deal. The dynamics of biological or pre-historic change are similar to those of social change and that obtains in dialecties the universal application that a philosophy needs to correlate knowledge in the various branches of research;

Fourthly, we shall subject all Indian thought to analysis and find out the social conditions which produced it. Such linking up would give us a historical perspective which is absent in chronology;

Fifthly, we shall try to diagnose the reasons for the frustration that Indian society has encountered. We know the symptoms of backwardness and the fact that Indian society did not evolve on the same pattern as that of Western Europe. While this knowledge would satisfy the requirements of the political worker, it is too meagre for a historian. For the latter the knowledge of how these symptoms came about is essential.

While such diagnoses apply to the period following Akbar, the causes must have been in a more distant period. The unfolding of these causes would lead to a better understanding of earlier historical periods.

Part of the causes are likely to be found in the geographical conditions of the country. It was fashionable at one time to attribute a good deal of the backwardness of Indian society to the geographical conditions in the country. The inability of Indian society to resist successive foreign invasions was attributed to emasculation brought about by climatic conditions. Today, however, it can be definitely said that emasculation, if there was any, was due to social reasons rather than climatic. The trend of cattle or other livestock in India is bad. The poor physical quality of the stock is not due to climatic reasons but to lack of breeding. Lack of breeding was due to apathy induced by general poverty and the poor price that livestock has in this country. It is well-known that before the 17th century livestock in Europe was as poor as in India but the industrial revolution raised the standard of living of the people and the possibility of better prices for livestock induced specialisation in stock-raising and breeding. The same process can be repeated in India if industrialisation takes place, but in India industrialisation now can take place only under a social system.

(To be continued.)

MOSCOW, CAIRO, TEHARAN CONFERENCES AND THE AFTERMATH—AN APPRAISAL

TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

Editor, America-India Feature and News Service, New York City

Editorial Note on Dr. Taraknath Das's article on "Moscow, Cairo, Teharan Conferences and the Aftermath—An Appraisal—"

The writer of this article, Dr. Taraknath Das, Editor of America-India Feature and News-Service, New York, Professor of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University and Special Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations, College of the City of New York, is internationally recognised as an authority on World Politics. As early as 1935, Dr. Das, in his article on Anglo-German Relations and the Future, pointed out the inevitability of an Anglo-German rivalry and conflict At the same time, while most of the publicists of the world were preaching the possibility of Soviet-Japanese conflict, Dr. Das pointed out through his articles and essays that unless an Anglo-American-Japanese understanding was arrived at, there would be a Russo-Japanese alliance or neutrality agreement which would lead to a conflict between Japan and Great Britain (Anglo-American Powers) and which was a certainty.

After the conclusion of the Teharan Conference, vast majority of students of international affairs expressed their views that the success of the conference was sure to augur a new era of World Peace through Anglo-American-Russian collaboration. Dr. Das felt doubts about such a development lasting for any great length of time and wrote the following article in December, 1943. In view of what has recently happened at the London Conference, Dr. Das's conclusions are somewhat startling. We publish this article, written nearly two years ago, because it may be of interest to students of international relations.

I

Before the convening of the Moscow Conference there were possibilities for misunderstanding between Soviet Russia and the Anglo-American Powers for various reasons: (1) Soviet Russia was demanding the opening of *a new front in Western Europe* (the so-called Second Front) so that at least 50 or more divisions of German forces might be withdrawn from the Russian front. This demand was not being fulfilled, there was bitterness in Russia about Anglo-American military and political programmes. (2) Anglo-Americans, since the Casablanca conference in which Russia did not participate, were committed to the programme of "unconditional surrender of Germany."; while Soviet Russia was interested in the destruction of that phase of Germany (Nazism) which had attacked Russia. Soviet Russia was not in favour of destruction of German industries and complete annihilation of the German Army. In fact Soviet Russia would not have had any objection to the establishment of a pro-Russian German Government which would agree to carry out Soviet Russian political and economic programme for Central Europe. Soviet Russia without consulting the Anglo-American Powers gave recognition to a Free German Committee, established at Moscow, which had been carrying on propaganda for the overthrow of Hitler and his generals and in favour of an understanding with Russia. (3) While the Anglo-American Powers were supporting the Polish Government-in-exile in London (England is in alliance with the Polish Government and is legally bound to support the territorial integrity of Poland), the Soviet Russian Government has denounced it as pro-fascist and anti-Russian. In fact the Soviet Russian Government has recognized a Polish Committee in Moscow and helped it to organize a Polish Army, which is now fighting the Germans under Russian direction. In this connection it cannot be ignored that Soviet Russia has been advocating annexation of a section of Poland which used to be a part of the Tsarist Russian Empire, while the Polish Government-in-exile was in opposition to it and was seeking Anglo-American support against Soviet Russian territorial claims. (4) In Yugo-Slavia, Soviet Russia was supporting the Partisans while the Anglo-American Powers were supporting King Peter's Government-in-exile. (5) In Greece, Soviet Russia was opposed to King George's Government-in-exile which has settled down at Cairo and enjoys recognition of the Anglo-American Powers. (6) Soviet Russia has been pro-de Gaulle, in favour of

re-establishing France as an important factor in Europe whereas Anglo-American Powers—especially Great Britain—have been opposed to the de Gaullist policy of re-assertion of France in Europe, Africa and the Near East (In fact the anti-French movement in Syria and Lebanon has the full support of Great Britain). (7) Soviet Russia was determined to annex the Baltic states—Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania and also a part of Finland, while at least in the United States there was a serious opposition to this policy of Soviet Russia. (8) For a time the Anglo-American Powers were pursuing a policy of forming a union of states from the Baltic to the Black Sea region. The idea behind this has been to create a federation of buffer-states with a population of nearly one hundred million peoples between Germany and Russia which may serve as instruments of Anglo-American control of Central Europe. It is well-known that Soviet Russia was opposed to any such programme and as an evidence of it, offered an alliance with Czecho-Slovakia which would agree not to unite with Poland. In this connection it may be noted that President Benes decided to follow Soviet Russia and thus gave up the idea of union of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland with an understanding that Poland must first come to an understanding with Soviet Russia, before making any agreement with the Czech government. This really disrupted the British programme of checking expansion of Soviet Russian influence in Central Europe. This did not make for good feeling between Soviet Russia and Anglo-American Powers and for some months Dr. Benes was prevented from going to Moscow from London for the purpose of signing a Soviet-Czech Treaty of alliance. (9) The American government was anxious that Soviet Russia should offer bases in East Asia which might be used against Japan, which in turn would result in a war between Soviet Russia and Japan. But this idea did not materialize, because the Soviet Russian Government was determined not to go to war with Japan, until she won her victories in Europe. (10) Lastly there were talks of German offer of a separate peace with Soviet Russia on very advantageous terms in favour of the latter. This idea was a nightmare for Anglo-American statesmen; because with Soviet Russia out of the war, it would not be easy for Anglo-American Powers to defeat Germany and Japan within a short time.

To solve these problems and to have a plan of concerted action by Soviet Russia and all the Anglo-American Powers against Germany, it was necessary to hold a conference of three powers. Thus the Moscow Conference was held. Mr. Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary and their advisers went to confer with Mr. Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, who was to act as the mouth-piece of Marshal Stalin, the Russian Premier.

Before the arrival of the Anglo-American delegates at Moscow, the Soviet authorities made it clear to the whole world through the publication of various inspired articles, that just as the United States would not allow any nation to open up the questions of annexations of Texas and California similarly Soviet Russia will not discuss any of the issues regarding Soviet frontiers and recovery of former Soviet Russian territories now in enemy hands. Of course Soviet Russia, before making any declaration, must have secured British support, as the British have been receiving the moral support of Soviet Russia regarding the Churchillian programme of "to hold on to what we have".

The main achievement of the Moscow Conference was that the Anglo-American-Soviet Russian authorities made a declaration that none of the three Powers would make a separate peace with Germany but would continue to co-operate in crushing the Nazis. It may be said that this declaration has some similarity with the Declaration of London of 1915 during the World War I. (In the London Conference of 1915 many secret understandings were arrived at, but they were not published until after the Bolsheviks came in power and opened the archives).

The Moscow Declaration studiously omitted any mention of the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter in the post-war settlement. This indicated that the Anglo-American Powers agreed to Soviet Russian territorial demands in Finland, Baltic States, Poland and Soviet Russian influence in the Balkan States. Soviet Russia in return agreed to the separation of Austria from Germany and also in the Anglo-American programme for Italy which meant that Italy would be deprived of her African Empire which would primarily be controlled by Britain. No mention was made about Japan, which meant that Soviet Russia still refused to be drawn into a war which might not be to her advantage.

In short Anglo-American Powers and Soviet Russia, in the Moscow Conference agreed to draw up a "blue-print" for a Post-War Settlement of Europe and Africa on the basis of extension and maintenance of their special spheres of influence. Of course lip-services were made regarding world-organization and preservation of world peace in future.

Marked reactions regarding the Moscow Conference were (1) sharp resentment among French leaders—de Gaullists—who felt that inspite of the vast sacrifices of France, her interests were not properly protected and France was ignored as a factor in reconstructing Europe; (2) There were indications of Turkish suspicion of any possible Anglo-American-Soviet Russian agreement regarding the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Straits as well as the position of Turkey, *i.e.*, Soviet Russia might reduce a part of Turkey as a Russian sphere of influence. Soviet Russia used pressure to bring Turkey into the war against Germany; Mr. Eden discussed the issues involved with the Turkish Foreign Minister but Turkey refused to give up her neutrality.

Of course, it will be said that in the face of the achievement of securing Anglo-American-Soviet Russian agreement, mere discontents among French leaders and suspicion of the Turkish people may be ignored at least for the time being. However it should be recorded that France leaning more towards Soviet Russia and Turkey seeking Anglo-American support against the possible aggrandisement of Soviet Russia might become very significant factors in any future re-alignment of powers.

II

After the meeting of the three Foreign Ministers of U. S. A., Britain and Soviet Russia at Moscow, when a general agreement on most urgent issues was arrived at, it was decided that President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshall Stalin should meet and carry on further discussions on more vital problems. This meeting took place in the Soviet Russian Embassy in Teharan (Iran) a few weeks later. It is most significant that although Iran is a member of the United Nations and has declared war against the Axis Powers, Iran's existence as an independent power and ally was virtually ignored.

Before meeting Marshall Stalin at Teharan, Anglo-American leaders—President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and their staffs—held a conference at Cairo. It is clear now that the prime objective of this meeting was to have closer Anglo-American solidarity and agreement on world issue—America agreeing to support Great Britain in her plans for re-distribution of power in Asia and Africa.

In this Anglo-American Conference at Cairo, Marshal Chiang Kai Shek was invited to attend the meeting, to give the impression to the world that Anglo-American-Chinese solidarity existed and also to extend recognition to China as one of the Four Great Powers of the world. But in reality Marshal Chiang was invited to attend this meeting to accept and approve of British programme of re-establishing British Imperialism in East Asia, Burma, Malaya, as well as in Honkong, French imperialism in Indo-China, Dutch Imperialism

in Dutch East Indies and Anglo-American control of the mandated Pacific Islands which were then under Japanese control. Also Marshal Chiang agreed not to meddle in Britain's private affairs in India, by suggesting any change of British attitude towards the Indian people and their right to self-determination.

Marshal Chiang attended Cairo Conference for internal and international political reasons. It enhanced his personal prestige among his followers in China and gave China a better international standing. However at Cairo, Marshal Chiang had no other alternative but to submit to Churchillian progress (which is also sacred to Mr. Roosevelt) regarding the Far East. Marshal Chiang cannot hold his own in China, not to speak of driving the Japanese out of China, without Anglo-American financial, political and military aid. He cannot expect whole-hearted support to his regime from Soviet Russia because the latter is interested in the ascendency of Chinese Communists who are opposed to Chiang. Thus Chiang had no other alternative than to surrender to Anglo-American dictation with a polite and graceful attitude.

The declarations at the Cairo Conference has made much of the ultimate objective of driving Japan back to her original islands, while Manchuria would go back to China; Formosa, Pescadores and other islands occupied by Japan would also be returned to China, however no mention was made of China recovering Hongkong which was acquired by Britain by virtue of her holy Opium War. By this declaration, it was also announced that "*in due course of time*" when Korea would prove herself fit for self-government, she would be given her Freedom. Who would decide about Korean fitness for Freedom? What has been the reaction of this declaration regarding Korea among Asian peoples? It has been confirmed that as long as Britain intends to keep India and Burma under her control, how could it be possible to offer fully Freedom to Korea; thus Korea must be a kind of a protectorate of some western Power. This declaration has created greater distrust in Anglo-American Powers' war aims than ever before. For instance, Koreans in China, members of the Korean Government-in-exile at Chungking, have expressed according to a New York Times dispatch, bitter resentment at this declaration; because it does not definitely state that Korea will have her independence, just as soon as Japan is driven out of their country. Many Koreans are speculating, "Will Korea be an Anglo-American protectorate or a Soviet Russian protectorate for a few years, *i.e.*, will Korea assume the status of Tibet or Mongolia? Will certain parts of Korea be given or leased to Soviet Russia as a price for her co-operation regarding Anglo-American aggrandisement in the Pacific and Eastern Asia?

What about Indian Freedom, Burmese Freedom, future of Malaya, Indo-China, Dutch East Indies? As nothing has been mentioned, does it mean re-establishment of the "status quo ante" after the expulsion of Japan? Will it please millions of peoples of Asia? No. The nature of the solution of Eastern-Asian problems as arrived at Cairo means a new balance of Power in the Pacific and Eastern Asia, which ultimately must mean a New World War in future.

III

The Moscow Conference was devoted in solving European—Central European and Balkan problems in particular—and the North African problem. In the Cairo Conference, Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill secured Chiang's endorsement of the plan of virtual elimination of Japan as a factor in the Pacific and the re-establishment of western imperialisms. In the Teharan Conference not only the future military programme of the allied powers against Germany was perfected, but some agreement was made about the future spheres of influence in Persia and the Near East.

It is interesting to note that while the declaration of the Teharan Conference speaks of respecting full independence and sovereignty of Iran, the Iranian

Cabinet has resigned, after demanding that Iran is being treated now not as an ally, a free nation but as an occupied country and Iran should have full control of her destiny now.

Just as towards the formation of the Anglo-French-Russian Entente of 1909 directed against Germany, Iran was partitioned into spheres of influence between Britain and Russia, leaving nominal freedom to the Government at Teharan, similarly the Iranian people today feel that to form an Anglo-American-Soviet Russian solidarity against Germany in 1943 and thereafter, Iran has been made a pawn and she has lost her real freedom and she might again be divided into various spheres of influence.

Just as during the World War I, the whole of the Near East was divided into spheres of influence between France and Britain by the (secret) Sykes-Picot Agreement, is it not conceivable that after the elimination of France from Syria (Lebanon included, as engineered by the British) the whole of the Near East would be divided into Anglo-American and Soviet Russian spheres of influence? Hundred of millions of peoples in Asia suspect that such an arrangement must have been arrived at the Teharan Conference. The new Balance of Power in the Near East will not ensure peace for the future.

IV

While Cairo-Tehran Conferences were making decisions for defeating the Japanese and Germans and to bring about a new peaceful world through Anglo-American-Soviet Russian co-operation, the Rt. Hon. Jan Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, who presided over British Cabinet meetings during the absence of both Messrs. Churchill and Eden from London, gave out a frank statement regarding the nature of the future world order and what Britain should do to maintain her position as a great power. With great frankness, General Smuts said that after the complete defeat of Germany and Japan, there will remain only three Great Powers—the United States of America, Soviet Russia and the British Empire—Of these nations Soviet Russia will be the most powerful nation in Europe while Britain will be the weakest of the three. He further pointed out that Soviet Russia had already begun to increase influence by signing treaties of alliance with Central European Powers; Britain to counteract the ever-increasing Soviet Russian Power, should form alliances with small powers of western Europe. General Smuts praised the efficiency of the German people and at the same time indicated that both France and Italy for a generation or longer will play a minor role in Europe and world affairs. Thus General Smuts indicated that Britain should come to understanding, form some kind of defensive alliances with Scandinavian countries, Holland, Belgium, Spain as well as Portugal. General Smuts' speech was a real bomb-shell, revealing the future trend of Britain's foreign policy—creation of a new balance of power against Soviet Russia. This rather is a dangerous idea at the present stage of the game and thus the speech was not given adequate publicity and comment as it deserved. However the importance of this programme cannot be ignored.

Less than two weeks after the speech of General Smuts, it has been reported in the New York Times that an important person close to the Belgium Government-in-exile in London has made a proposition that Belgium may become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, under certain conditions. If this becomes a fact, Britain will have the right to have military, naval and air bases in Belgium, one of the most important strategic centres in Europe; furthermore Belgium as a part of the British Empire will allow Britain to control Belgian African colonies—Belgian Congo, etc. for raw materials and control of Africa, politically and militarily.

Britain is doing her best to reinstate monarchy in Spain and the late Queen Victoria's great grandson Juan, the son of the late Spanish King Alfonso, who is now serving Britain as an officer in her navy as the future King of Spain. This will certainly mean that Spain will follow the lead of Britain in economic, political and military affairs.

It is needless to add that Portugal, the oldest ally of Britain in Europe is virtually a British protectorate. There is no doubt that after the end of this war, British capital will try to develop Portuguese colonies in Africa. This will not only help Britain in acquiring control over the African continent, but Portugal will virtually be a part of a British system of which General Smuts has so candidly spoken.

It should be noted that British moves regarding Belgium and Spain have come to light, after Cairo and Teharan Conferences and also after the signing of the 20 years treaty of alliance between Soviet Russia and the Czech Government and also after the Anglo-American Powers recognized the dominant position of Marshall Tito and his government in Yugo-Slavia which is under Soviet Russian influence.

These facts clearly indicate that the world is being divided into Soviet Russian and Anglo-American spheres of influence and a new Balance of Power is in formation.

V

During the Versailles Peace Conference, while various issues, especially the question of formation of the League of Nations was being discussed, Great Britain, France and U.S.A. signed a treaty of alliance as a guarantee that France might be protected by collective action of these powers, in case of another German attack. But the U.S. Senate refused to ratify this alliance and Britain fearful of the then growing power of France in continental Europe, gave up the alliance. In fact, to bring about a new Balance of Power in Europe, British statesmen began to aid Germany against France. It is also a historical fact that the British Government aided the anti-French Fascist Italy of Mussolini (until Mussolini and Laval agreed to form a combination in the Mediterranean and North Africa which challenged British supremacy in these regions). It is also a historical fact that the British Government aided the anti-French and anti-Russian Nazi-Germany of Hitler, until Sir Nevill Henderson's Mission (for an Anglo-German alliance on England's terms) failed.

If we take General Smut's version of the future development in world politics as correct, then Britain will try to check the growing Power of Russia (as she did after the Napoleonic War and the Congress of Vienna and other occasions). In that case Germany will be sought after both by the Anglo-American Powers and Soviet Russia. In this connection it may be asserted that Soviet Russia will take the leadership in bringing about a Franco-German-Russian understanding—a United Europe, under Russian leadership. It is to be expected that a United Europe under Russian leadership would be opposed by Britain as she did oppose such a programme of the past and is opposed to any form of United Europe now. This will not make for peace.

In Asia, the Anglo-American Powers as well as Soviet Russia will have to seek the support of Asian peoples. In the coming rivalry between Anglo-American Powers and Soviet Russia, the support of China and India will be sought after by both groups. It is quite probable that unless the Anglo-American Powers change their attitude regarding Asian Freedom—freedom of the peoples of India, Burma, etc.—Soviet Russia will be able to gain the support of the peoples of East Asia against the Anglo-American Powers.

In the Near East the Anglo-American Powers are banking upon the support of the Arab world led by Arab princes and feudal barons; whereas Soviet Russia would try to foment revolts in Asia as she did when her relations with Great Britain were not on cordial terms.

Against all these, one may point out that I have discounted the existence of a treaty of alliance between Soviet Russia and Britain for a period of twenty years. I have not ignored this fact at all. This treaty is for twenty years and for the furtherance of mutual interests—Soviet Russia is trying to use Britain while Britain is trying to prevent a German-Russian alliance. This being the case this treaty may be broken even before its expiration, as in the past treaties have been broken by many noble nations, to suit their interests.

My conclusions are gloomy. Moscow-Cairo-Teharan Conferences were held to devise means to defeat Germany and Japan in the present world war and to divide the world into various spheres of influence by three Great and Victorious Powers—Soviet Russia, the United States and Great Britain. This will ultimately within a generation—may be quarter of a century or earlier—lead to another World War in which Asia will play the role of a very important, if not the deciding factor.

INDIANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICES—III

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THE move towards the introduction of simultaneous examinations both in London and India originated in England rather than in India. As far back as 1860 a Committee of the India Office consisting of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaughten and Sir Erskine Perry appointed by the Secretary of State to enquire how to implement the Clause in the Queen's proclamation affirming equal rights of all her subjects to offices under the Crown's service, recommended the introduction of simultaneous examinations, one in England and one in India, from considerations of both justice and expediency. We may quote here some extracts from the report of the Committee submitted on January 14, 1860:—

"We are, in the first place, unanimously of opinion that it is not only just, but expedient, that the Natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction. It is true that even at the present no positive disqualification exists. . . . . It is obvious that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

"Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a Native leaving India and residing in England for a time are so great, that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second

is to hold, simultaneously, two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

A persistent agitation in the circle of educated Indians both in England and India also started about this time. The introduction of western education among the upper classes was bearing fruit. Indians who received the benefits of the system were becoming increasingly politically self-conscious. This political consciousness had not yet taken shape in the demand for complete self-government but confined itself within the narrow limits of a share in administrative services, in legislation and administrative reforms.

As early as 1856 the British Indian Association of Calcutta submitted a memorial to the President of the Board of Control pointing out the practical difficulties in the way of Indians availing themselves of the benefits of the competitive examination held in London and pressing for a change in the system altering both the venue and the nature of the examination so as to favour the Indian candidates. It did not, however, elicit any favourable response from the Board.[1]

In 1868 the late Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji in a paper read before a meeting of the East India Association, London on "Admission of educated natives into the Indian Civil Service" made out a strong case for holding simultaneous examinations in India and England or preferably a separate examination in India as the only way in which natives of India can be put on an honestly equal footing with Englishmen."[2] This, in his opinion, was necessary to implement the policy embodied in the Queen's proclamation of 1858. In course of his paper he answered the objections usually raised against the move, some of which are detailed below:—

(1) That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity and physical power and energy;

(2) That Europeans would not like to serve under natives;

(3) That native officials are not much respected by the natives and that when a native is placed in any position of eminence, his fellow-countrymen all around him are ready to backbite and slander him;

(4) That natives look too much to Government employment and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves *other* paths of life;

(5) That though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fit to be placed at the head of any department;

(6) That the places obtained by the natives will be so many lost to the English people;

(7) That natives are already largely employed.

He refuted all the objections by facts and figures. We lay so much emphasis upon the paper because the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji may be said to have voiced the feelings of the English educated class of those days.

In 1867 the East India Association founded in England by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State on the subject of

1 N. C. Roy, Indian Civil Service (1935), pp. 62-63.

2 Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings (On Indian politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, Part I, Ch. 2.

admission of natives of India to a larger share in the administration of India than before in course of which they suggested that the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be held in India under rules and arrangements to be prescribed by the Secretary of State. The idea was that after the preliminary selection was made in India by competitive examination, the selected candidates should be required to come over to England with the help of scholarships tenable for five years to take the examination in England along with other candidates of that country. In this way Indian recruits could be selected from a wider field and would not be confined only to those with the largest purse who could afford to take the uncertain chance of appearing at the London examination.[1]

In 1868 Mr. H. Fawcett, a member of Parliament brought forward a motion for the holding of competitive examinations in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta for the Indian Civil Service but Sir Stafford Northcote opposed it on the ground that the system of competitive examination was not at all suited to the Indian conditions. The motion fell through.

In the same year (1868) the British Indian Association in Bengal submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State praying for the holding of the competitive examination in India and throwing open to Indian competition a definite share of the covenanted appointments. A similar memorial had also been submitted by the Bombay Association through the Government of Bombay. The result of all these memorials was the scholarship scheme of Lord Lawrence and the enactment of the Statute of 1870.

In 1876 the British Indian Association repeated their request mainly on the ground that the contemplated reduction in the age-limit for competition in England from 21 to 19 would adversely affect the admission of native candidates. The Secretary of State (Lord Cranbrook), however, was not agreeable to accede to the request.

The next step was taken by the Indian Association in Bengal established in 1876. In 1877 it started a country-wide campaign for (*a*) the raising of the age-limit for competition reduced by Lord Salisbury and (*b*) the establishment of simultaneous examinations both in England and India. Sir (then Mr.) Surendra Nath Banerji had been deputed to tour throughout the country to awaken public feeling on the question.[2] A civil service memorial was drawn up and a number of resolutions were passed at Calcutta, which were also adopted in public meetings held in different parts of the country. Mr. Lalmohon Ghosh was deputed personally to lay before the English people the All-India Memorial on Civil Service addressed to the House of Commons which he did with eminent ability. Incidentally it may be pointed out that this provided the occasion for the inception of an All-India political platform and was the prelude to the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 with the avowed object of giving vent to the grievances of the public against the Government, to bring about administrative reforms by constitutional agitation and to press for the rapid Indianisation of the public services.

At the very first session of the Congress the late Dadabhai Naoroji moved a resolution expressing the opinion of the Congress that the competitive examination held in England should in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860 be held simultaneously in England and India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit. The successful candidates in India were to be sent to England for further study and subjected there to such further examinations, as might seem needful, the

[1] *Ibid*, Ch. 2.
[2] S. N. Banerji, "A Nation in the Making," Ch. V, pp. 44 and 51-52.

maximum age of candidates for entrance into the covenanted Civil Service should be raised to not less than 23 years. Since then the demand for simultaneous examinations became almost a fixed item in the programme of the Congress at its annual sessions.

Mr. Naoroji supported the resolution on grounds of simple fairness and justice according to which he maintained "the examination for services in India ought to take place in India alone," inasmuch as the people of Australia, Canada and other dominions did not go to England for their services. Such a step he deemed necessary if the pledges embodied in Acts of Parliament and Queen's Proclamation were to be respected. Above all there was the paramount consideration of economy to be taken into account particularly in a poor country like India. "The employment of native agency is not merely a matter of justice and expediency . . . . but a most absolute necessity for the poor, suffering and starving millions of India."

In the second session of the Congress at Calcutta over which he presided he again laid stress on this aspect of Indianisation and observed that Indians' demand for admission into the services was not simply to gratify the aspirations of a handful of educated Indians as is commonly supposed, but on close examination it would be found to go far to settle the problem of the poverty of the Indian people.[1]

A Sub-Committee appointed by the Congress to investigate the matter formulated some details and recommended that simultaneous examinations should be held in India and England open to all subjects of the Crown and that a classified list of appointments should be made in order of merit, that with the holding of these examinations the Statutory Civil Service should be closed for first appointments which, however, should be left open to members of the uncovenanted service and to professional men of proved merit, and that all other appointments should be filled by competitive examinations held in the provinces.[2] The Public Service Commission of 1886-87 made substantial concessions to the demands of the Congress, although the congress viewed them as inadequate. In so far as the age-limit for the I.C.S. was raised from 19 to 23 as desired by the Congress there was a definite improvement in the position but in other respects the position was made worse by the orders of the Government on the Commission's recommendations, for the Indians were not given facilities to enter the Indian Civil Service on equal terms with Europeans. In 1892 the Congress regretted the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Public Service Commissioner and had a humble petition submitted to the House of Commons.

The question of simultaneous examinations forced itself upon the attention of the Public Service Commission of 1886-87 also. The Commission observed:[3] "Of all the matters which have been referred for the consideration of the Commission, there is perhaps none which is more important in itself, and to which greater importance is attached by the educated classes, than the introduction of a competitive examination in India for the Civil Service, to be held simultaneously with the competition in England, the examinations being identical in all respects." The Commission pointed out that the evidence tendered before them on the question was divided—the witnesses belonging to those classes which had made great progress in education such as Hindus and Parsis, pressing for its introduction while others who were comparatively backward in education such as the Muhammadans and others opposing it. They summarised the arguments put forward by both sections before giving

1 Essays, Speeches, etc. . . . . of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 341.
2 Vide *The History of the Indian National Congress* by Pattabhi Sitaramayya (1935), Ch. 2, p. 48.
3 Para 60 of the Report.

their conclusion. The principal advantage claimed for the measure by its advocate was as follows: —

The system was necessary to remove obstacles precluding Natives of India from competing on equal terms with Britishers which were held to be inconsistent with the statute of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. These obstacles were, (*i*) religious and caste objections, (*ii*) reluctance of parents to send boys at a tender age to a distant country full of temptations without means of adequate supervision, and (*iii*) expenses specially in the face of the risk of failure.

On the other hand it was argued by the opponents of the proposal,—(1) that in the prevailing circumstances of social life in India, open competition would not fully guarantee the presumption that successful candidates possess adequately the qualities essential for high administrative office; (2) that Indian schools and colleges did not at the time supply education and training of the high and liberal kind considered to be necessary qualification for admission to the Indian Civil Service, and that an open competition in India for the covenanted Civil Service would operate inequally between the classes; (3) that it would create a disgruntled class in the large number of unsuccessful competitors who would be a potential source of embarrassment to the Government; (4) that pressure might sooner or later be brought on the Government to make the examination of a less English and more Oriental character and adjust it so as to favour native candidates; (5) that it was likely to produce injurious effect on the development of education in the country by the creation of special private institutions for preparing candidates and also the probable tendency to adapt the educational system to the needs of the competitive examination; (6) that it would be very difficult to maintain the secrecy of the examination papers and to make satisfactory arrangements for conducting the *viva voce* examination.

After full consideration of the weight of evidence on both sides the Commission came to the conclusion that it was inexpedient to hold an examination in India for the convenanted Service simultaneously with that in London. The Commission took the view that the pledges embodied in the Statute of 1833 or the Proclamation of 1858 were not at all affected by the venue of the examination.

The main question was, in the opinion of the Commission, to determine the qualifications wanted in persons appointed to the convenated Service and arrangemenls best calculated to secure such qualifications. The object of recruiting through the examination in England was to secure that administration is conducted on English principles and methods. The circumstances of India rendered it necessary therefore that officers with an education which ensured the possession of such qualifications should, as a rule, be obtained in England through an examination with a distinctively English character and designed to test such qualifications. In that view of the matter, according to them an examination held in England was the most proper thing under the circumstances. They quite appreciated the objection on the ground of the high cost involved in payment of the sufficiently liberal salaries that might be paid to attract the right type of people with English qualifications but they thought it inevitable under the circumstances till the social and political progress of India rendered the discontinuance of recruitment in England and the substitution of an Indian agency possible. In the mean time opportunity was to be provided to those Indians who are debarred for one reason or another from the competition in England for advancing to responsible posts, by limiting the recruitment in England to the utmost extent consistent with the consideration of maintaining the English character of the examination. In the opinion of the Commission the character of the education given at the time in Indian schools and colleges was not calculated to produce the qualities necessary for

admission into the Indian Service which education of a high and liberal kind alone could produce. Whether educational institutions in India would develop within a reasonable time to such an extent as to supply that type of education so as to justify simultaneous examinations in India the Commission expressed itself unable to opine. But under the then prevailing conditions of education in India they were not in a position to recommend the measure without injury to public interests. Further they held that at the time and also for some time inequality would result from an open competition held in India.

The Commission also felt strongly the genuineness of the objections on the s urce of difficulty in holding the *viva voce* examination in India. On all these grounds they did not approve of the introduction of simultaneous examinations in India. A few years later an occasion presented itself which gave rise to a thorough discussion of the whole question in official circles both in England and India, though it did not ultimately lead to any practical result. It was that one Mr. Herbert moved the following resolution in the House of Commons on June 2, 1893. It was seconded by Mr. Naoroji who was then a member of Parliament and was eventually carried. The resolution runs as follows:—

"That all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit."

The resolution formed the subject matter of prolonged correspondence between the Secretary of State (Lord Kimberley) and the Government of India[1]. The Secretary of State for India forwarded the resolution with a Despatch No. 61 (Public), dated June 22, 1893 to Government of India and requested the latter to furnish him, after a prompt and careful examination of the subject, with their opinion as to the mode in which and the conditions and limitations under which the resolution could be carried into effect. He did not propose to fetter their discretion in any way by giving any directions beyond simply pointing out that it was indispensable that an adequate number of members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans. All the six members of the India Council in conformity with the reactionary tradition of that body appended separate minutes of dissent to the above Despatch. Their objections were based mainly on two grounds—the first being constitutional, questioning the necessity of referring the matter to the Government of India at all and the second being political denouncing the policy underlying it as being subversive of all principles that had so far been followed by the Government on the question and as embodied in the Duke of Argyll's Despatch[2]. Apprehension was expressed that the Despatch might be interpreted by the Government of India to give countenance to a policy contrary to the one of maintaining a British element in the service and that under the system proposed the irreducible minimum of European element in the service might be affected and a considerable number of appointments might go to the natives of India belonging to the physically weaker and less manly races. (*Vide* Minute of Dissent to the Despatch by Sir A. Arbuthnot). Further it was pointed out that the matter had been given careful consideration by the Public Service Commission of 1886-87, and in concurrence with their recommendations it was decided by the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India to be inadmissible as being entirely foreign to the inten-

[1] For the detailed correspondence *vide* Parliamentary Papers Vol. LX of 1894 (C 7378).

[2] These may be stated as follows:—(1) Duty to the natives of India in respect of giving them a larger sphere of employment in the administration to be discharged on the principle of careful and cautious selections. (2) Easier promotion from the uncovenanted service to the covenanted service on the basis of tried ability. (3) Stability of British rule to be regarded as one of the first duties to the people of India and to that end cautious advance in the matter of extended employment of Indians.

tions of the framers of the competitive system and open to grave political objections." The decision was quite recent and it was said that time had not yet come to re-open the question.

The Government of India on receipt of the Despatch referred the matter to the Local Governments and Administrations in a circular letter, dated August 5, 1893, in which after recounting the history of the movement towards larger employment of Indians in superior offices they asked for their opinion on the following points:—

(1) the proposal embodied in the Resolution of the House of Commons. (2) the minimum proportion of Europeans to be retained in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service (including the listed posts) or in other words the maximum proportion of such offices that could be offered to the natives of India consistently with efficiency and maintenance of British supremacy in India. (3) In the event of the opinion of any Local Government or Administration being against the acceptance of the proposal in its entirety, the next question for consideration was whether the principle of competition might be adopted in recruiting natives of India for the Civil Service with some restrictions or limitations. In that connection three different methods were suggested by the Government of India for their consideration:—(*a*) a general competitive examination open to all natives of India, the candidates being selected on the results of the examination in order of merit for service in all provinces; (*b*) a separate examination held in each province open only to natives of India domiciled in that province, the results being determined by pure competition; (*c*) competition-cum-nomination—a promotion, say half, being recruited by separate examinations held in provinces as under (*b*) and the balance by selection from among candidates lower in the list of successful candidates in such a manner as to provide for fair representation of different classes, races and sections of the people. (4) Lastly, whether the introduction of competitive principle in any of the above methods or in any other method in supersession of the existing arrangements, would be desirable in view of the fact that it would adversely affect the prospects of the members of the Provincial Civil Service virtually relegating it to its old status of a subordinate service.

All the Local Governments with the solitary exception of Madras replied to the above Despatch definitely rejecting the proposal for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India. The Government of Madras gave it as their opinion that the proposed course would be expedient if practicable but that its practicability on the conditions laid down in the Resolution, *viz.*, that the examinations should be identical in their nature can only be attained by the sacrifice, in a considerable degree, of the character of the examination as a searching test. They did not share the apprehensions of those who held that it would result in an increase in the proportion of natives selected for the service or that the increase in their number would be such as to constitute a threat to British dominion in India. On the other hand the association of natives with higher administration would lead to an increased popularity of the Service and would satisfy the aspirations or wishes of the natives of India which has not been done by the Provincial Service scheme. It would also remove an injustice or a feeling of injustice while not impairing the British character of the administration. This solitary discordant note of the Government of Madras, however, proved to be a cry in the wilderness. On receipt of the opinions of the Local Governments the Government of India sent a reply to the Secretary of State expressing its own views in a despatch, dated November 1, 1893, enclosing a detailed memorandum consisting of seven parts. In that despatch they stated that while agreeing with the principle embodied in the resolution that natives of India should be extensively employed consistently with efficient administration and stability of British rule in India and expressing every sympathy with the reasonable desires and legitimate

aspirations of natives for employment in the higher branches of the public service they could not recommend the adoption of the method proposed to give effect to the principle. They pointed out that the Civil Service of India contained in its cadre 898 posts in all from which after deducting seventy-four posts in the special and technical departments and ninety-three listed posts assigned to the Provincial Services there were left only 731 covenanted officers on whose administrative capacity and fitness for rule depended the quiet and orderly government of 217½ millions of people, inhabiting 943,000 square miles of territory. This points to the supreme importance of obtaining the best material for these offices. Any weakening of their influence, it was said or deterioration in their efficiency would imply a relaxation of the restraints of the government and a reversion *pro tanto* to the conditions from which the country emerged only when it came into British possession.

The reason for which they found themselves unable to recommend the adoption of the proposal are summarised under the following heads:

(1) No such concession is necessary for the fulfilment of the so-called pledges upon which the claim has been founded, (2) the practical difficulties of introducing a system of simultaneous examinations would be extremely serious, (3) It is conceded that, in order to ensure the efficient government of the country, a minimum of European officials is indispensable. Such a minimum could not be maintained in the event of simultaneous examinations being resorted to in the country. (4) It would be entirely out of the question to reduce the existing minimum of Europeans at the present time, (5) Open competition is not the best way of selecting natives for the higher ranks of the service. . . . Probation by actual employment forms a competitive examination of the best kind . . . . (6) The proposed change would, unless the irreducible minimum of Europeans is to be diminished, involve the withdrawal of the appointments recently given, after the fullest consideration, to the Provincial Service and would thus deprive that service of the prizes promised to it, disappointing its hopes and lowering its efficiency by a sense of injustice.

Due to the hostile attitude of both the Central and almost all the Local Governments the project of holding simultaneous examinations was definitely abandoned at the time. It is, however, difficult to find much force or logic in the arguments that were put forward against the proposal. In the first place, the contention that the holding of the competitive examination in London alone did not involve any breach of the pledges given by Parliament or the Queen is at best a specious one. True it did not go against the letter of those pledges but certainly it went against their spirit. It involved what is called making a promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart. This is the view held not only by Indian public men, but is shared by a section of both official and non-official Europeans, as will be evident from the following quotations. The Duke of Argyll when moving the second reading of the bill later passed as the Statute of 1870 observed "With regard, however, to the employment of Natives in the government of their country in the Covenanted Service, formerly of the Company, and now of the Crown, I must say that we have fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made . . . . I have always felt that the regulations laid down for the competitive examinations rendered nugatory the declaration of the Act of 1833; and so strongly has this been felt of late years by the Government of India that various suggestions have been made to remedy the evil."

Even such a reactionary Viceroy as Lord Lytton confessed a guilty conscience of the British in the matter of pledges. In course of a Despatch to the Secretary of State in defence of his scheme of a closed Native Civil Service noted before he observed:—

"The principal cause of the acknowledged failure to fulfil fairly the promises given lies in the vagueness of the promises themselves, ... We

remain in the vicious circle round which we have been wandering just half as long as the Hebrews wandered in the wilderness. We don't employ natives more largely because they are not well-qualified; and they are not well-qualified because we do not employ them enough."

The Government of Madras in their note to the Government of India referred to above laid stress on the inequality in the conditions of competition for natives of India in the following words:—

"The inequality in the conditions arises, not from the fact that the examination is adapted to test the education which is given to the best of English youth—for that merely means that a high but not unnecessarily high standard of instruction is demanded—but from the social conditions of native life and from the high cost, relating to the general level of native resources, of a prolonged visit to England[1]. Another writer, himself a member of the Indian Educational Service, writing so late as the year 1933 remarks[2]:—

"Giving full weight to considerations of efficiency, it has to be admitted that these pledges have not always been interpreted in the most liberal spirit; nor can it be gainsaid that much bitterness has been caused amongst Indians of superior education, in recent years especially, by the feeling, not altogether unjustified, that members of the class have not enjoyed the position in the public services to which their social and intellectual standing entitled them."

Secondly, as regards the practical difficulties involved in giving effect to the scheme of holding simultaneous examinations it may be said that they were not of such a character as could not be overcome by slight changes, given the will and sincerity of purpose to do so.

Thirdly, it is difficult to see any point in the assumption that a minimum of European element in the services is indispensable for efficiency and stability. British principles of administration have been followed in the self-governing dominions too but no insistence on this requirement was made there. The qualities that make for efficiency and stability are not the monopoly of the British race and might be secured in Indian youths by making the standard of examination equally high in both places. Facilities might be provided to Indian students for qualifying for the examination by making changes, if necessary, in the system of education here. Even assuming for argument's sake that a minimum of British element is indispensable and the inherent superiority of British youths, there was hardly any likelihood of that minimum being reduced in the event of simultaneous examinations being instituted; as apprehended by the opponents of the scheme; because however much the educational system and method in this country might be changed so as to fit in with the scheme of the examination the British candidates would enjoy an advantage over the Indian candidates. If, however, inspite of that, Indian candidates ousted the British and outnumbered them in the list of successful candidates that would simply demonstrate in them superior merit and qualities of mind that justly entitled them to preferment and it is hardly conceivable that efficiency of administration and stability of British rule would have been affected in any way by the appointment of such candidates.

Fourthly, it has been suggested open competition may be suitable in England, but it is no good for India. In India probation by actual employment formed the competitive examination of the best kind. The reason given for this discrimination, namely, that it is necessary in England to prevent nepotism which is impossible in this country is not at all convincing. Then again the

[1] Letter of the Government of Madras to the Government of India No. 733 (Public) Home Department, dated September 7, 1893.

[2] E. A. Horne, "The Political System of British India" (1922) Ch. 7, p. 125.

fear was expressed that open competition would have the effect of admitting into the service a large number of competitors well advanced in literary education but deficient in the qualifications necessary for the higher ranks of the service and excluding the more virile races like the Sikhs, Muhammadans, etc. having greater strength of character but deficient in literary education. It is difficult to see how lack of strength of character and moral stamina follow necessarily from physical inferiority, nor is there any necessary connection between proficiency in literary education and physical inferiority. Nobody would deny the need of a certain minimum standard of physical fitness in successful competitors, but that can easily be provided for by a fairly stiff medical examination of the candidates prior to their admission into the Service. As for the non-representation or inadequate representation of those sections of population who do not quite come up to the mark in literary proficiency but who are otherwise desirable candidates, the difficulty might be overcome by reserving a proportion of the appointments to be filled up by selection from among them standing lower in the list of competitors. In fact this was one of the alternative methods suggested by the Government of India in their letter of August 5, 1893 to the Local Governments and Administrations for recruiting the natives of India, for their consideration in the event of their failing to accept the proposal indicated in the resolution of the House of Commons in its entirety.

The fact of the matter seems to be that they did not quite like the idea of the class of educated Indians who had become politically self-conscious and vocal and who came to be dubbed as " agitators " getting in in large numbers, as they were bound to, under the system of open competition, into the key positions of Indian administration and all sorts of spurious arguments were woven out to camouflage their real objection. Lastly it was pointed out that the proposal would involve withdrawal of the covenanted appointments placed at the disposal of the members of the Provincial Civil Service who had proved their merit and ability to their great disappointment and consequent loss of efficiency. But this loss in the opportunities of the members of the Provincial Service who have been recruited with reference to the conditions of that Service would have been more than offset by the opening of the higher service to Indians on equal terms with European candidates. At any rate it would satisfy their sense of prestige and dignity.

It would appear from the above discussion that although the Resolution was carried in the House of Commons either it did not reflect the opinion of the British public or the British public did not feel sufficiently strongly on the question so as to bring pressure on the Government to accept and give effect to the Resolution. That the authorities begining from the Secretary of State and the India Council down to the Local Governments were definitely apathetic to the proposal is abundantly clear from the correspondence on the question reviewed above. All of them accepted it as an axiom that a certain minimum of European element at the top of the Indian administration was essential for discharging the elementary responsibility of maintaining order in the country. Even the Government of Madras which alone favoured the proposal did not dispute this position. The fact is that the whole approach of the ruling classes to the question of Indianisation was fundamentally wrong. They were pervaded by a colonial outlook, regarding the Indian territories as a legitimate object of exploitation. They had not as yet set before themselves any goal to which the administration of the country must lead. India was regarded as a mere possession to be governed well and morally and materially developed, but not with s view to making the people fit for self-government, but rather for their own gain, offering a profitable market for British exports, jobs for British youths and so on. Consistently with this line of policy the process of Indianisation of the services had reached the point of maximum expansion by the end of the 19th century.

For further development the whole outlook of the rulers needed a revolutionary change, the basic assumptions limiting the process had to be given up, self-government had to be substituted as the objective of Indian administration in place of mere good government. This took another quarter of a century to come and perhaps would have taken longer but for World War No. 1 which brought about a revolution in men's patterns of thought outlook and ideas. The Revolution was therefore allowed to lie quietly in cold storage.

The forces that had been created, however, by the introduction and spread of education went on gathering momentum. The agitation both for simultaneous examinations and the raising of age limits went on as before. At the session of the Congress held in Calcutta in 1901 Sir (then Mr.) Surendra Nath Banerji moved a resolution regretting the practical exclusion of Indians from the higher appointments in the minor civil services such as the Police, the Customs, the State Railways, etc., and at the same time urging that effect be given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June, 1893[1]. But the agitation of the educated class of Indians does not seem to have had any appreciable effect on the policy of the Government.

(to be continued.)

[1] S. N. Banerji, "A Nation in the making," p. 167.

THE BENGAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS CRITICS

(*In the Post-Mutiny Era*)

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IN the Post-Mutiny Era great emphasis was laid on carrying out the policy indicated in the Despatch of 1854, *viz.*, the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision and management of higher education. There took place a heated controversy respecting the relative claims upon the State for primary and of higher education. In Bengal the 'Infiltration Theory' was popular; it was argued "that the enlightened few will scatter light among their fellow countrymen, as the rays of the rising sun touch the mountain-top and rest there for a while before penetrating to the dark valleys below."[1] Mr. W. S. Atkinson, the Bengal Director of Public Instruction, wrote in defence of the 'Infiltration Theory':—"To make efficient provision for a sound liberal education should be the first and main object of any national system; and when this has been secured, and the upper classes have learned to avail themselves of the boon and appreciated its value, it may be expected that an impulse will be given which will slowly but surely extend its influence in a widening circle, so as gradually to embrace all the orders of society beneath them; and then too, professional education for which a liberal education is an indisputable antecedent, especially in Law and Physic, will become a possibility."[2] The

[1] Sir Richard Temple : India in 1880, p. 140.
[2] D. P. I., Bengal, to Bengal Government, 26th, Nov. 1862; Home-Ed. Progs; June, 1863; No. 12.

Chief Commissioner of Oudh also advocated this theory, *viz.*, "to begin with the upper and middle classes, and let it filter through to the masses."[3] In 1863 while recommending to the Government of India the proposal for the establishment of Government Zillah schools at Sudder Stations of Cachar, Deoghur and Debrooghur, the Lt. Governor of Bengal made the following remarks, "His Honour has no hesitation in saying that it is to the English colleges and schools, and especially to those which have been established by Government (with the single exception of Dr. Duff's School in Calcutta) that Bengal owes her present advanced position in point of education, and that one English school in a district does infinitely more to enlighten the inhabitants and create in them a thirst for knowledge and self-improvement than fifty elementary vernacular schools scattered over the country. His Honour does not deny the use of these, but he maintains that the enlightenment of the people at large is far more surely promoted by the creation of an educated intelligent class through the means of English schools and colleges working up to the University standard, than by imparting direct elementary instruction to the lower classes."[4] The general tendency was however in favour of the policy of the withdrawal of the State from higher education so as to utilise the funds for the promotion of elementary education. And therefore the Government of India while sanctioning the proposal drew the attention of the Lt. Governor to the policy of closing Government schools in localities where private efforts, supplemented under the grant-in-aid system, might be depended on for the supply of the means of education.[5] The Government of India considered it "of great importance that this object should be kept in view."[6] In 1874 Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Government of India that "as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education."[7] The Government of India issued two exhaustive reports on the state of education in India for the years 1865-66 and 1866-67. These reports criticised the lop-sided Bengal educational system. Mr. A. M. Monteath and Mr. Arthur Howell, the authors of these Reports, expressed the opinion that the Government was paying too much attention to higher education and neglecting elementary education. In Bengal were to be found the largest number and the best specimens of colleges and schools of the Higher and Middle classes.[8] Of the 1,350 candidates for University Entrance Examination 1,147 were from Bengal alone.[9] In the first Arts Examination, Bengal sent in 120 successful candidates out of 131; in the B.A. Examination 58 out of 60; and in the M.A. Examination 18 out of 22. But this pre-eminence was not attained without a sacrifice. The annual expenditure from public funds on schools of the lower class, Government or aided, was far less than in any other local Government, except Madras.[10] "Hence Bengal is the Province of most marked educational contrasts. On the one hand, we find a comparatively small number of students being instructed, mainly at Government expense, in the languages and the philosophy of the West, and engaged in the pursuit of

[3] Chief Commissioner of Oudh to Government of India, 28th Jan., 1863; Home-Ed. Progs; June, 1864; No. 14.

[4] Bengal Government to Government of India, 19th Aug., 1863; Home-Ed. Progs; Dec., 1863; No. 14.

[5] Government of India to Bengal Government, 28 Dec., 1863; Home-Ed. Progs; Dec., 1863; No. 16.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Sir Charles Wood's Ed. Despatch; No. 13; 25 Ap., 1864.

[8] Arthur Howell's Note on the State of Education in India (1866-67), paras 90 94 and Monteath's Note on the State of Education in India (1865-66), paras 6-8.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

University distinctions; side by side are schools for the masses, receiving no aid from Government."[11] Mr. Arthur Howell asked the following searching questions concerning the working of the Bengal educational system—what becomes of all these highly educated youngmen from Bengal whom the University turns out every year? Are they, as in England, absorbed into the channels of everyday life, with a satisfactory result? Are they to be traced, as in England, in a liberal and enlightened native press? Do native gentlemen like English gentlemen, return to their zamindaries from a University career, to spread around them the reflex of the enlightenment they have received themselves? Does the process of highly educating a few, and leaving the masses, tend to increase, or to diminish, the gulf between class and class? Are there any indications of a decrease in crime, or of a dawn of intelligence in the agricultural classes of those districts where the mass schools have not been taken up by Government or by any society, and where education only 'filters'? In short, is the theory of 'downward filtration' answering[12]? Mr. Howell did not minimise the importance of the Universities in opening out to the Indians an honourable and lucrative career in law, medicine or the public offices, but he doubted "whether the direct patronage of the State flows most in the channel where there is the greatest need for it, and whether the expenditure on the higher Government Institutions might not gradually but largely be withdrawn, and the funds be utilized in the extension and improvement of the lower Institutions."[13] In short the authors of these Government reports doubted very much "whether the theory of downward filtration of education, however true as a general principle, will not be found wanting when applied to the lowest strata of the population."

These Reports turned the scales heavily against the higher education so prominently associated with Bengal. Mr. Arthur Howell wrote another valuable Report—Education in British India (prior to 1854, and in 1870-71). Mr. Howell maintained that "to maintain schools of higher education is not, like mass education, a necessary State duty.[14]" He was of opinion that it was desirable for Government to leave the direction of higher education in the hands of the native community. "Although in one sense Government and aided institutions are on the same footing, practically they are opposed to each other. They are rivals competing with each other, and the Government in maintaining both together is bidding against itself and is checking with one hand what it promotes with the other. The great obstacle to the grant-in-aid institutions, in Bengal at all events, is the rivalry of the Government institutions which carry off the best pupils because of the prestige attaching to a more expensive staff, and though their fees are higher, the higher fee is readily paid for an article more in demand. How, for instance, can the six aided colleges in Bengal be expected to prosper by the side of the Government colleges which attract all the best students? And it is the same with the schools."[15] Mr. Howell was confident that the Indians would be able to develop higher education (on the grant-in-aid system). He wrote—"If the Hindu community could found and maintain an Anglo-Indian college for themselves in 1815 to supply an obvious want then, are we to suppose that if there were no other means of supplying this want, they would be unable to do so in 1872, when the want is so much obvious? The obvious inference is that if the Government wishes to restrict itself to its more proper province and to promote higher education by the grant-in-aid system, it must retire from direct competition with it."[16]

[11] Howell's Note, para. 91.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Howell's Note, para. 94.
[14] Arthur Howell: Education in British India (prior to 1884, and in 1870-71), pp. 101-102.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*

The question of the withdrawal of the State from higher education was in fact vitally concerned with the problem of elementary education. It was more and more coming to be realised that without active State help not much progress could be made in elementary education. Mr. Lowe, one of the greatest English authorities on the subject of education remarked, "As regards the elementary education of the humbler classes, there are certain principles which are now pretty well established and agreed upon, namely—firstly, that the education of the poor ought not to be left wholly to private enterprise, but ought to be undertaken by the State; secondly, that the State represents in education not the religious, but the secular element; thirdly that the best way of carrying on education was not by a centralized system, but by the calling forth of local energy . . . . . "[17] Much progress was made in elementary education in the North Western Provinces on account of the levying of the compulsory local educational cess[18]. The Government of India were of opinion that popular education should, as far as possible, be provided for from popular local contributions —partly, because it was impossible, that the great expenditure which would be required for a really national system of education could be defrayed from imperial taxes, and even still more, because in no other way could the active interest and co-operation of the body of the community be engaged in the cause.[19] "The part which has to be performed by the Government is to organize, superintend, and direct the whole system, and to supplement the funds locally raised."[20] From 1862 to 1866 large sections of the population of the Bombay Presidency reaped huge profits on account of the great demand for cotton as a result of the American Civil War. The Bombay Government availed itself of this opportunity to levy a high compulsory local educational cess and thus laid deep and broad the foundations of education for the masses.[21] Then the Government of India wrote to the Madras Government to encourage elementary education by levying a compulsory educational cess.[22] Bengal struggled hard against the pressure of the Government of India to divert the funds from higher to elementary education. When the Lt. Governor expressed the opinion that the education of the masses could never be effected by the Government otherwise than indirectly,[23] the Government of India replied that the educational cess should be levied in Bengal as it had proved a powerful instrument for developing primary education.[24] The Government of India contrasted the slow progress of elementary education in Bengal with other provinces thus[25]:—

Province	Population	Number of pupils in the lower class (Government and aided schools) in 1866-67
Bengal	40 millions	39,104
North Western Provinces	30 millions	125,394
Bombay	16 millions	79,189
Punjab	15 millions	22,600

[17] Howell's Note, para. 72.
[18] *Ibid*, para. 16.
[19] Office Memorandum Financial Department No. 4079, dated 26th Aug., 1863; Home- Ed. Progs; Dec. 1863; No. 3.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] Howell's Note, para. 30.
[22] Government of India to Madras Government, 27th May, 1868; Parl. Papers 1870 (397), pp. 288-289.
[23] Resolution on the Bengal Educational Report (1863-64), Home-Edn, Progs; July, 1865; No. 12A.
[24] Government of India to Bengal Government, 28th Oct., 1867; Home-Ed. Progs; Oct., 1867; No. 39.
[25] Government of India to Bengal Government, 25th April, 1868; Parl. Papers 1870 (397), pp. 286-288.

The Government of India therefore felt that it would not be right to evade any longer the responsibility of providing that the means of obtaining at least an elementary education should be made accessible to the people of Bengal because "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people."[26] The Government of India did not attach much importance to the objection that the educational cess would be an infringement of the conditions under which permanent settlement of the land was made.[27] Similar objections were made to the imposition of the income tax, and they were as groundless in the one case as in the other.[28] Sir William Grey, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, held that the position of the proprietors of land in Bengal was dissimilar to that of the proprietors of land in other parts of India and therefore any cess for educational or other general purposes ought to be imposed by way of general direct taxation and not left to fall on the landholders only.[29] The controversy was settled generally in favour of the Government of India by the Duke of Argyll who wrote in his Despatch, dated the 12th May, 1870 "that rating for local expenditure is to be regarded, as it has hitherto been regarded in all the provinces of the Empire, as taxation separate and distinct from the ordinary land revenue; that the levying of such rates upon the holders of land, irrespective of their land assessment, involves no breach of faith on the part of the Government, whether as regards holders of permanent or of temporary tenures; and that, where such rates are levied at all, they ought as far as may be possible, to be levied equally, without distinction and without exemption, upon all holders of property accessible to the rate."[30]

In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed an Education Commission under the presidency of Sir William Hunter to report on "the present state of elementary education throughout the empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved."[31] The Government of India wanted to encourage the establishment of schools and colleges upon the grant-in-aid system because "apart altogether from the consequent pecuniary relief to the Government, it is chiefly in this way that the Native community will be able to secure that freedom and variety of education which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system. It is not in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government educational mould. Rather is it desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings and suited to its wants. The Government is ready therefore to do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges or schools in suitable cases to bodies of Native gentlemen who will undertake to manage them satisfactorily as aided institutions; all that the Government will insist upon being that due provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness."[32] The Hunter Commission approved this policy by recommending "that in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, whenever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate

[26] Government of India to Bengal Government 25th April, 1868; Parl. Papers 1870 (397), pp. 286-288.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Buckland: Bengal under the Lt. Governors, pp. 440-44.
[30] Argyll's Ed, Despatch; No. 5; 12th May, 1870, para. 17.
[31] Progs. of Government of India, Home Department (Ed) No. 1160, dated 3rd Feb., 1882,
[32] *Ibid.*

guarantees of permanence and efficiency."[33] Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang in his well-reasoned Minute of Dissent cautioned the Government not to be influenced by the cry that too much money was being spent on higher education in India.[34] He agreed with Mill's dictum that we must bestow brains on those who have only hands but he was certainly opposed to the policy of favouring education for the masses at the expense of higher education. Quoting Matthew Arnold he remarked that in European countries "the idea of a sound civil organisation of modern society has been found to involve the idea of an organisation of secondary and superior instruction by public authority or by the State."[35] He earnestly hoped that the Government of Lord Ripon would achieve the credit which Mr. M. Arnold gave to the Government of France on the Restoration after the Battle of Waterloo. "To the Restoration is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary. Other Governments had decreed systems of education for the people—the Government of the Restoration decreed funds." Mr. Telang ended his Minute of Dissent with the following significant words:—"The question of popular education is now mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must trust to is not the short-sighted economies in the expenditure on higher education which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, almost without exception not natives of the country, but what is wanted is an effort on the part of the British Indian Governments to follow at however great a distance, the Imperial Government, which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £ 1,940, 000 to 4,290,000 sterling, and a like effort on the part of the leaders of the people to help the Government in spreading the benefits of education far and wide in this great country."[36]

The Government persevered in its efforts to encourage elementary education at the expense of higher education. It was on passing orders on Sir A. Croft's review of educational policy that Lord Dufferin issued a resolution. The Government recognised its responsibility for the education of the people. "But in educational as in other matters, it is the policy of the Government of India to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise. It pioneers the way; but having shown the way, it recognises no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves."[37] The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale entered an emphatic protest against this policy and remarked significantly, "Education is the sheet anchor of the people's loyalty, it is the sheet-anchor of the people's progress; and the expenditure incurred to educate people will be found to be a source of strength, when the subsidies to the wild tribes and the demarcation of scientific frontiers are found to fail."[38]

33 Hunter Commission Report (1882), para. 535.
34 Kashinath Trimbak's Minute of Dissent, Hunter Commission Report, pp. 606-619.
35 *Ibid.*
36 *Ibid.*
37 Speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, pp. 157-158.
38 *Ibid.*

Miscellany

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE GANGES

In November, 1945, it is not a far cry from the Ganges to the Missouri. Americanization is on in Bengal today both demographically and socio-economically. And so the trends of development in the Missouri Valley may not fail to have their impacts on the policies and ideologies of the Indian people.

Four years ago a Committee of the eight states watered by the Missouri river was constituted with the object of planning the future development of the valley. Men and women of Deltaic Bengal will be interested to learn that one of the chief programmes of the Missouri Committee is the securing of flood control in the valley. Irrigation and navigation problems belong there as a matter of course. Power development is a modern feature, which has likewise been taken care of. In this valley as in other regions of the U.S.A. there are the regular institutions of public administration to occupy themselves with similar problems. All the same, this new committee has been set up. It is functioning as the general steering liaison agency for all the eight states. Americans are human enough to wrangle over inter-state, inter-urban and inter-rural problems. The "communal" questions regarding finance and control are quite living too in the U.S. The Missouri Committee has therefore to function also as a regional board for the adjustment of disputes, controversies and misunderstandings between Dakota and Nebraska or Minnesota and Iowa.

Post-war planning is in the air in all the provinces in India. As the Missouri River Committee is one of the latest in the game of economic reconstruction, the report of its activities should be meaningful in diverse circles of India. Engineers, land-reclamation officers, businessmen and last but not least, newspaper editors are associated with the Missouri Committee's work.

MODERNISM IN EGYPT

Towards the beginning of the present century Zaghlul was the translator into Arabic of Descartes, Demculins and Le Bon. Young Egypt has since been nurtured on translations from Molière, Rousseau, Voltaire, Hugo and Anatole France. In recent years English thought has been penetrating the Egyptian intelligentsia, Byron and Hardy have influenced Ibrahim Abdal Quadiral Mazini. Fabian socialism has found exponents in Salaman Musa and Hafez Afifi Pasha who are popularizing Shaw and Wells.

CONTROL OF RAW MATERIALS

No shrewd Indian businessman can afford to prospect his future transactions on the hypothesis that India will have command over her own raw materials and natural resources simply because she happens to be their geographical source. International access to raw materials has been growing into a substantial category of business language in England and America. There is no vagueness about what this access means. It is nothing short of commodity control.

At the American Labour Conference on International Affairs held at New York (March, 1944) raw problems of the world economy constituted a major topic of discussion. Protective tariff was the butt of adverse criticism. Bilateral trade agreements were condemned. The abolition of monopolies in raw materials was envisaged.

The participants were quite wideawake to understand that backward and underdeveloped regions were getting industrialized. They raised the cry that the existing capacities of the world to produce raw materials would prove insufficient. The development of raw materials with foreign capital in suitable regions has therefere been suggested as one of the remedies. Materials are to be controlled both as regards production and distribution. The buffer stocks would come under the finance, supervision and management of an International Commodity Corporation. It is such a worldwide organization that would presumably dictate India's as China's, Africa's and Latin America's own outputs as well as imports and exports of primary products. The situation may not be discouraging to the merchants and industrialists of India in case they should happen to be adequately financed and powerful enough to hobnob with the multimillionaires of Eur-America.

Some of the plans may be studied in P. L. Yates's *Commodity Control* (London, 1943).

VANZYPE THE BELGIAN DRAMATIST

The modern world has been enriched with the contributions of two great French writers born in Belgium. In India as elsewhere Verhaeren the poet is as well known for his patriotism and international pacifism as Maeterlinck the dramatist, for his anti-intellectualism, symbolism and expressionism. In a report published by Professor Charlier of the University of Brussels he draws attention to the dozen "dramas of idea" which Gustave Vanzype has furnished to the contemporary Belgian theatre. Each play is a study of conscience in conflict. The tragedy involved in self-sacrifice and matyrdom is the *forte* of this dramatist. The high seriousness of the problems is evident as much in *Etapes* (Stages) as in *Visages*. While an exponent of *entente universelle* like Verhaeren, Vanzype is signalized by stern and dignified idealism for which one usually recalls the name of the great Corneille. Undoubtedly the world will hear more of Vanzype in the near future.

Round the World

A Full-fledged Government—

For the first time in the history of India a complete Government—free and independent in every respect and recognised by other states—was formed outside India. This Government of Azad Hind was well-organised and contained all the necessary administrative departments and social services required for running a modern state. It had its own Finance Department and Army as well as areas under its own control. It had its own Diplomatic Service. From the details given of its administration in the press one fact clearly emerges—the fact that Indians can organise a decent government and rule themselves.

In the Azad Hind Army as well as in the Azad Hind Government there were no communal differences, caste distinctions and caste barriers. People of different castes and different religions dined together and lived together on the most cordial terms. Hindus and Moslems did not recognise religious differences. Their only thought was for the independence of India. In their unity of sentiments and purpose they have given the lie alike to British propaganda and to stupid communal prejudices.

A Dutch 'Apologia'—

In a book recently published—entitled ' the Netherlands Indies and Japan'—and written by Dr. H. J. Van Mook, Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies certain significant facts are stated which have a bearing on the present obnoxious Dutch attitude to their colonies. Amongst the significant facts are those which show how the Dutch encouraged the Japanese in their 'infiltration' of Java and other Dutch possessions. According to Dr. Van Mook " relations between the Netherlands Indies and Japan presented no special difficulties until after the world crisis of 1929. In 1899 a law had accorded the Japanese the status of 'Europeans' in the Indies; in 1912 a general trade treaty had put their activities in that country with regard to trade, business, shipping, and immigration on the normal footing of a most-favoured nation-clause." It does sound very strange that the Dutch accorded to the Japanese the status of 'Europeans' and encouraged them in business and immigration, while their own subjects, Javanese and others, were treated with contumely and as strangers in their own country. Whilst the Javanese were nowhere in business, the Japanese share in imports and exports, banking and shipping was gradually increasing. For instance, Japan's share in Netherlands Indies' imports rose from 11% in 1929 to 30% in 1935. The Japanese immigrants and businessmen created, as it were, Japanese enclaves in the country.

Dr. Van Mook observes naively that as the Japanese grew in number they endeavoured rather to lessen than to multiply the contacts with the people and the institutions of the country in which they were living. The Japanese had their own institutions. To quote Dr. Van Mook again "if they have their way, they will recruit nothing from the local population but labour; the whole staff and —if possible—all the foremen must be Japanese." All this sounds very unctuous if we only remember that Europeans likewise form exclusive communities in the East and that they too regard the peoples of the colonies as mere primary producers and labourers. They too look upon their trade in the colonies, their plantations, their mines and their factories as integrated parts of the economy of their empires. It seems a little lame when the Dutch after squeezing out everything from their colonies can remark pityingly that "unlimited admittance of the experienced and low-salaried Japanese, with their preference for wholly Japanese personnel, would have put another obstacle in the way of Indonesian emancipation, and would have crowded-out the budding Indonesian entrepreneur." If the Dutch really felt for their colonial subjects they would have given them political and economic autonomy long ago; in reality, they did nothing but mouth hypocritical sentiments and exploit the Javanese, Balinese and others whose self-appointed trustees they were. By forming their own national Government and their national resistance movement the people of Java, the most important of the Dutch colonies, have given the real answer to Dutch Imperialism. They have taken the management of their affairs into their own hands and have thereby provided a solutionfor their problems—or rather for the problems created by their one-time alien rulers. The hollowness of Dutch pretences backed up by British arms stands self-exposed in all its lurid context.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers : Aftermath—

A writer in a recent issue of "The New Statesman and Nation" has remarked that it was better for the Conference of Foreign Ministers to have broken down completely than to have covered failure with insincere formulas. Statesmen who cannot agree even on the communique announcing their disagreement had better part and think again. The issue of procedure which led to the formal suspension of the Conference was only a Soviet way of calling off abortive discussion. Whatever it is,—there is no doubt that there are deep-seated Russian suspicions of the West and in that context we must judge the talks which are now taking place in Moscow.

After her immense losses in the war—the population of Russia is reduced by something between twenty and thirty millions—Russia feels extremely sensitive. The bonafides, therefore, of her other allies in World War II are not trusted. She has long ago suspected the West—commencing from the days of Allied Intervention in Soviet Russia after World War I down to Munich

and the refusal of the Soviet Alliance in 1939. Furthermore, the desire of the Allies not to share the secrets of the atomic bomb with Russia has profoundly irritated her.

The tactless attitude of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes in referring to the lack of "democracy" in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria has not improved matters at all. Governments which recognise the Franco Regime in Spain and rule their colonies autocratically can scarcely afford to cast stones at Russian policy in the Balkans, which from Slavic sympathies and from contiguity to the Soviets really constitute a Russian sphere of influence 'par excellence.' The Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe is analogous to the United States sphere of influence in the Pacific but this fact is overlooked in the British Press. All know now that the world has been demarcated into spheres of influence by the Great Powers; the supreme danger is that these zones of influence may resolve into separate warring camps. By an unrealistic and emotional approach the diplomatists and statesmen of the West and the U.S.A. will do nothing to stave off that unpleasant possibility.

Azerbaijan—

A separate state has been formed in Northern Persia, the State of Azerbaijan. On the surface an autonomous Government with its own national assembly, it has really been formed under Russian auspices. This 'Persian' Azerbaijan closely resembles linguistically and culturally that part of Azerbaijan which is in the Soviet Union and is one of the Caucasian Republics. The people of Persian Azerbaijan as well as of Azerbaijan proper are of Turkish extraction : they are Azeri Turks and they speak the Azeri Turkish Dialect. They bear close affinities to the Turks of North Eastern Asia Minor. In fact the Azeri Turks had till a few years ago a strong Pan-Turkish Nationalist Movement of Union with Turkey. The Azeri Turks of Persia, while retaining their own Turkish Language and Culture, had become quite Persianised in many things. Most of them were swayed by divided loyalties and had looked forward to the day when they would be united again to Azerbaijan proper, but this union has not been achieved yet.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The 'Kalivarjyas' or Prohibitions in the 'Kali' Age.—The thesis of Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for 1933 was published by the Calcutta University at the end of 1943. The subject treated in the brochure is one of socio-legal importance and the writer has dealt with the fifty-six practices, which are found in different Smriti works as forbidden in the Kali Age, both historically and under the aspect of their present legal bearing. The exposition is fuller and more comprehensive than what is found either in Sanskrit digests or in modern works of Hindu Law. In discussing the import and force of these prohibitions the writer has compiled the views of the authoritative Smriti digests and brought to light materials that will be of use in these days when questions relating to Hindu law reform are before the legislatures and the public. As the practices pertain to all departments of Hindu life and social conduct; ritual and ceremony, the duties of the four orders of life, ceremonial impurity and purification as well as law and usage, the essay is of considerable sociological value and is calculated to give an insight into the manner in which changes are brought about in the Hindu social organisation. The treatise which is throughout documented evinces painstaking research and as shown by its index is based on materials extensively compiled from all relevant sources. The writer has amply shown in his conclusion that there is much misconception regarding the validity generally attached to the Kali prohibitions in the views of Pandits and in decisions of the courts of law. The book will give a stimulus to thought and inquiry and is a well-timed publication that deserves the attention of students of Indian Social History as well as jurists and legal practitioners interested in Hindu Law.

P. Ghosh.

Our Sterling Balances.—By Professor M. V. Bhatawdekar. Padma Publications, Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Re. 1.

The learned author has in this pamphlet given a clear exposition of the problem created by our sterling balances, their origin, possibilities of total or partial repudiation and loss, and their disposal. Written without partisanship, it is worth the careful study of all who take interest in what has grown to be one of the most discussed of economic and political problems of the day.

Zonal Divisions of India.—By K. M. Munshi. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bomby, 2. Price As 8.

Within the compass of sixteen pages, the author discusses the four schemes for the zonal division of India and shows how each of them is unsatisfactory, pandering as every one of them

does to the unfair demand of a particular political party for a sphere in which it can consolidate its power and influence over Muslims. It is also proved that the constitution of separate Muslim zones in the manner laid down by this party is unjust because it insists on the inclusion of predominantly Hindu zones to secure compactness or economic self-sufficiency and strength. Facts are quoted to show the dangers implied in the cry for self-determination and the point is made that without a common framework with power to enforce the rule of law within and security without, any scheme of zonal division, no matter how well-thought out, is bound to lead to either civil war or a state approaching it.

This closely reasoned and carefully written brochure explaining the implications of the zonal division of India is, so far as we are aware, the best tabloid publication on the subject

M. B. B.

The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi.—Compiled by R. K. Prabhu and N. R. Rao with a foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 3.

Dedicated to Mahadev Desai who, the compilers state, was the man fittest for the task which it took them a dozen years to discharge, the book consists of selections from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi arranged under nearly forty heads. These must have been lovingly studied and carefully examined to cull out from them all those sayings which present, as it were in a nutshell, Gandhiji's views on most things of moment. The last few pages supply references as regards the sources of the different extracts. Even a cursory study will show the most inattentive of readers the success with which the "Mind" of Gandhiji has been explained within a short compass with the assistance of his own words, The compilers have shown great wisdom by refusing to succumb to the temptation of explaining Gandhiji themselves by leaving the reader to interpret India's great leader for themselves.

Our Economic Condition. Edited by Dr. Baljit Singh, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Published by N. R. Agarwal & Co., M. K. Garden, Agra; Sole Selling Agents—Murari Book Depot, Hospital Road, Agra. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 4.

The book consists of statistical data on practically all aspects of our economic life which appear in about sixty tables. They have been collected from authoritative sources by the Economic Research Committee of the B. R. College, Agra. Primarily meant to place relevant facts and figures before the intelligent man so that he may interpret them for himself and be perfectly free to come to his own conclusions, the editor has expressed the conclusions arrived at by the members of the Committee in thirty-two chapters.

Not only have the committee done a service to the public at large by providing information available only in a large number of blue books not easily accessible to it and which it would take much time and labour to collect, but even the busy man of affairs has, in this book a *vade mecum* on which he can always rely to supply him with most facts and figures he is likely to need. The editor, too, is to be congratulated for his detached approach to some of the most vexed economic problems in India.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE"

Ourselves

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The following is a list of recent important additions to the University Library Collections :—

SOCIAL SCIENCES

"Faith, Reason and Civilisation" by Prof. Harold Laski : An Essay in Historical Analysis (Published by Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1944).

"Selected Works" V. I. Lenin (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1944).

"Nationalism and After" by E. H. Carr (London, Macmillan. 1945).

"The International Development of China" by Sun Yat-Sen (Published by Hutchinson, London).

"The New Empire : Letters to a Conservative M. P. on the Future of England and India" by K. M. Panikkar (London, Martin Hopkinson).

"The Economic Development of the Middle East : an Outline of Planned Reconstruction after the War" by Alfred Bonne (London, Kegan Paul, 1945).

"Planning for Plenty" by Sikandar Chowdhry [an essay on the conditions of post-war prosperity with a review of current plans.] Published by Longmans, Calcutta, 1945.

"Economics of Post-war India" by S. K Muranjan (Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1945).

"Poverty and Social Change—a Study in the Economic Reorganisation of Indian Rural Society" by Tarlok Singh (Calcutta, Longmans, 1945).

"The Bombay Plan—a Criticism" by P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant (Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1945).

"Indian Currency in Retrospect" by G. D. Birla (Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1944).

"The Bank of England—A History—Vol. 2" by Sir John Clapham (Cambridge University Press, 1944).
"Principles of Public Finance" by Hugh Dalton (London, Routledge, 1943).
"Indians in British Industries" by H. C. Mookerjee (Calcutta, Saraswaty Library, 1945).
"Planning of Social Security in India" by B. P. Adarkar (Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1944).

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVELS

"Hamd-Allah Mustawfi Qazvini's Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulut," translated by G. Le Strange for the trustees of the Gibb Memorial Series.
"Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir" of Marvazi : China, the Turks and India [Arabic Text : C. A. D. 1120] with an English translation and Commentary by Prof. V. Minorsky [Published by Royal Asiatic Society, London].
"Resistance and Reconstruction—Messages during China's Six Years of War ; 1937—1943" by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (New York, Harper & Brothers).

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. Misc. R. 3.

It is hereby notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXIII of the Calcutta University Regulations relating to the M.A. Examination in Philosophy has been sanctioned by the Government :

Under Paper III, the words "Indian Philosophy" be replaced by the words "Oriental Philosophy."

N.B.—The above changes will be given effect to immediately.

Senate House,
The 19th November, 1945.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. T. 725.

Matriculation Examination, 1947.

Indian Vernacular

Punjabi (Gurumukhi)

In modification of this office Notification No. T. 691, dated the 30th October, 1944, the following revised course has been prescribed in Punjabi (Gurumukhi) for the Matric. Examination, 1947.

Panjab University Matric. Punjabi (Gurumukhi) Course for 1942 (pp. 45-232, 273-81, 436-454).

Books prescribed for Rapid Reading.

Undami Munde (Published by R. S. M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Lahore) by Gyani S. Sohan Singh.

Grammar recommended :

Gangawala Master Karam Singh.

Nawin Punjabi Vyakaran, Bhag III (Khalsa College, Amritsar) Page 1 to 100 and page 271 to 328.

Senate House,
The 21st November, 1945

B. B. DUTT
Registrar (Offg.)

Notification No. T. 722.

B.A. Examination, 1946.

Bengali (Second Language)

It is hereby notified for general information that in modification of this office Notification No. T. 676, dated the 16th September, 1943, the portions Agamani and Bijaya only have been prescribed to be read from Sakta-Padavali in Bengali (Second Language) for the B.A. Examination, 1945.

Senate House,
The 20th September, 1945.

S. K. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. T. 724

B.A. Examination, 1946.

Second Language
Bengali

It is hereby notified for general information that '*Daksha Yajna*' by Girischandra Ghosh has been prescribed as alternative to '*Jana*' by the same author, in Bengali (Second Language), Paper III (Drama Text) for the B.A. Examination, 1946.

Senate House,
The 3rd November, 1945

B. B. DUTT
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. T. 726.

I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, 1947.

Vernaculars

Punjabi (Gurumukhi).

In modification of this office Notification No. T. 696, dated the 18th December, 1944, the following revised course has been prescribed in Punjabi (Gurumukhi) for the Intermediate Examination, 1947.

Paper (*a*) Poetry—Waran Bhai Gurdas. First 5 only. Bhai Bir Singh. Lahran De Har.
Paper (*b*) Prose—Life of Baba Nodh Singh (Subhog Ji). Published by Office Khalsa Samachar, Hall Bazar, Amritsar.

Senate House,
The 21st November, 1945.

B. B. DUTT
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. T. 727.

B.A. Examination, 1947.

Second Language
Bengali.

In continuation of this office notification No. T. 718, dated the 2nd August, 1945, it is hereby notified for general information that pp. 169-352. have been prescribed to be read from Kshemananda Ketaka Das's Manasamangal (Ed. by) Jatindra Nath Bhattacharyya in Bengali (Second Language) for the B.A. Examination, 1947.

Senate House,
The 21st November, 1945

B. B. DUTT
Registrar (Offg.).

NOTICE

No. C/3033/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904) read with sub-section (3) of section 21 of the same Act, the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1946-47, the Loreto House, Calcutta, be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Alternative paper in English, French, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany, Geography and Biology to the I.Sc. Standard, with the permission to present candidates at the examination in these subjects from 1948 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT
Registrar (Offg.).

NOTICE

1. The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below :

Sunilkumar Mukerjee.

Title of the thesis—Cation Exchange in the Soils and Clays.

Senate House,
The 26th November, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

2. The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below :

Kanailal Mandal,

Title of the thesis—Studies in Co-ordination Compounds of Bivalent Metals with Organic Bases.

Senate House,
The 30th November, 1945.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

Other Notifications.

ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

October 6, 1945.
23, Debender Ghosh Road,
Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

Announcement.

ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA.

Tenth Annual Exhibition.

To be held at the Government School of Art, 28, Chowringhee, Calcutta, and to be opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 15th January, 1946. Many prizes will be given and distinctions awarded; also exhibitors will have great opportunities for the sale of pictures. Apply for prospectus or information.

D. C. GHOSE,
Joint Honorary Secretary,
23, Debender Ghose Road,
Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

R. O. C. No. 5691 of 40.

NOTIFICATION.

Applications are invited from persons for the pos of Reader under the Muslim Endowment. The appointment will be for a period of 3 or 5 years at a time.

Honorarium, According to qualifications subject to a maximum of S. Rs. 250 per mensem.

Applicants should possess the following qualifications :—

An Honours or Master's Degree in Islamic Studies and History of one of the following Universities :—

Oxford, London, Madras, Dacca, Aligarh, Cairo.

The Title of Afzal-ul-Ulama will be regarded as an additional qualification.

Applications showing details *re* :—age, qualifications. nationality, previous experience, publications, if any, may be sent so as to reach the undersigned on or before the 1st December, 1945.

University Buildings,
Trivandrum.

P. R. PARAMESWARA PANIKKAR,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

MATHEMATICS

The Khandakhadyaka with Prithudaka's Commentary, Edited by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 170. 1941. Rs. 2-8.

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